DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 376 987 PS 022 893

AUTHOR	Ochiltree, Gay
TITLE	Effects of Child Care on Young Children: Forty Years of Research. Early Childhood Study Paper No. 5.
INSTITUTION	Australian Inst. of Family Studies, Melbourne.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-642-20125-0; ISSN-1037-2253
PUB DATE	94
NOTE	153p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Australian Institute of Family Studies, 300 Queen Street, Melbourne 3000, Victoria, Australia.
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Information Analyses (070)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Caregiver Child Relationship; *Child Development; *Day Care; *Day Care Effects; Early Childhood Education; Educational Trends; Family Environment; Foreign Countries; Outcomes of Education; Parent Child Relationship; Research Methodology; *Social Science Research; *Young Children
IDENTIFIERS	Australia; Project Head Start; United States

ABSTRACT

This book provides an overview of research on infants and young children who have experienced non-maternal or non-parental care during their preschool years. It focuses on studies conducted in Australia, but also considers the vast body of research conducted elsewhere, especially in the United States. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the issues involved in research into the effects of non-maternal care and gives a context for the discussion that follows. Chapter 2 contains a brief overview of early research, which was largely concerned with whether non-maternal care affected the security of the mother-child attachment. Chapter 3 discusses the question of whether non-maternal (and sometimes non-parental) child care is harmful to infants. Chapter 4 examines research employing a broader approach which takes into account the effects of family environment when studying the effects of non-maternal care. Chapter 5 contains a description of Head Start and other early intervention programs designed to improve the educational opportunities and well-being of children from disadvantaged backgrounds. Chapter 6 explores the conclusion that child care is not a substitute for home care, but rather provides children with experiences in a different setting. Contains approximately 240 references. (MDM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 376 987

EFFECTS OF CHILD CARE ON YOUNG CHILDREN

FORTY YEARS OF RESEARCH

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

GAY OCHILTREE

PS 022893

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN OTHER THAN PAPER COPY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
E. Sharman
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

EARLY CHILDHOOD STUDY PAPER No. 5
Australian Institute of Family Studies

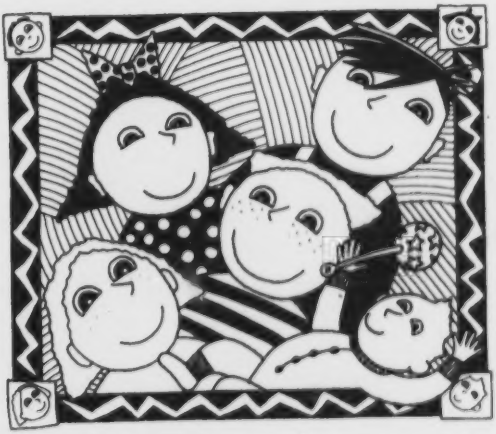
2 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

EFFECTS OF CHILD CARE ON YOUNG CHILDREN

FORTY YEARS OF RESEARCH

GAY OCHILTREE

AIFS Early Childhood Study
Paper No.5



Australian Institute of Family Studies

©Australian Institute of Family Studies — Commonwealth of Australia 1994

Australian Institute of Family Studies
300 Queen Street
Melbourne 3000 Australia
Telephone (03) 608 6888

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the Australian Institute of Family Studies.

The Institute's Board of Management recognises the independence of researchers and accepts that opinions expressed in publications may not necessarily reflect those of individual Board members.

National Library of Australia
Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Ochiltree, Gay.
Effects of child care on young children

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 642 20125 0.
ISSN 1037-2253.

1. Children of working mothers - Australia. 2. Child development - Australia. 3. mother and child - Australia. 4. Child care - Australia. I. Australian Institute of Family Studies. II. Title. (Series: AIFS early childhood study : paper no.5).

305.231.

Cover: Stephen Pascoe
Design and layout: Double Jay Graphics
Printed by Impact Printing

CONTENTS

Introduction

1. The Changing Context of Early Childhood 1
Mothers and the workforce 2
The research 3
Child care provision in Australia 4
The emphasis on maternal care 5
Attachment theory 6
Child care in historical and cultural context 9
Fathers 11
Child development 13
The active child 14
The child in the family context 15
Long-term effects of early experience 16
Conclusions 18

2. Attachment and Quality 19
Child care and attachment 19
Quality 20
Defining quality 21
National Day Care Study 23
Further research into quality 29
Specific indicators of the quality of non-parental care 29
Effects of overall quality 34
The values approach to quality 38
Costs and quality 41
Conclusions 43

3. Does Non-Maternal Care Harm Infants? 45
The Strange Situation Technique 47
The rise of infant day care as an issue 48
Studies of infant attachment and substitute care 50
The debate in the scientific community 54
Belsky's 1988 review and peer comments 54
Methodological limitations of the research 58
Criticisms of the Strange Situation 60
Cultural variations in Strange Situation classifications 62
Prediction based on Strange Situation classifications 65
Conclusions 67

4. **The Effects of Different Contexts of Child Care 68**
Various research approaches 68
An ethological–evolutionary approach to attachment 69
Alternative measures of attachment 70
Ecological approaches to child care research 72
Cultural influences on child care 76
Ecology of child care: studies in different countries 77
United States 78
Sweden 83
United Kingdom 86
New Zealand 87
Canada 88
Australia 89
Conclusions 90

5. **Early Intervention and Head Start Programs 91**
Background to early intervention 93
Project Head Start 95
Evaluations of Head Start 96
Research-based early intervention programs 98
Consortium for Longitudinal Studies 99
Head Start Synthesis Project 103
Implications for child care 104
Conclusions 106

6. **Dual Socialisation 108**
Changes in child rearing 109
The research 111
Dual socialisation 112
Children's experience of child care 114
New directions for research 115
Conclusions 116

List of References 118

AIFS Early Childhood Study 142

INTRODUCTION

This book provides an overview of research on infants and young children who have experienced non-maternal and/or non-parental care in the preschool years of their lives. In the 1950s and 1960s most children in Western countries, including Australia, were cared for at home by their mothers until they went to school. Mothers who worked were seen as aberrant. As the number of mothers entering the workforce increased in the 1970s there were concerns about the effects of non-maternal care on preschool children – a concern that led to a burgeoning of research on the effects of non-maternal care.

The decision to write this book occurred when reviewing research literature to accompany the data analysis for the Australian Institute of Family Studies Early Childhood Study on the effects of different contexts of child care. (A description of this study appears at the end of this book.) Research had taken a number of different directions, and studies from the United States had dominated the field. As the complexity of the issues involved in the research became more apparent, it seemed important to do the topic justice and extend the review to a book.

This book contains not only a description of the research and the trends in the research but also an analysis of the politics involved and the theoretical debates which have occurred. The central role of research from the United States, a country with generally lower standards of child care than Australia, is discussed. Research from other countries is included with a brief description of the cultural context. In all chapters, earlier research is discussed in less detail than recent research.

Chapter One provides an overview of the issues involved in research into the effects of non-maternal child care and gives a context for the discussion that follows. Attachment theory and the emphasis on maternal care in this body of research is discussed. Facts and figures on the work patterns of mothers and the provision of child care in Australia are included.

Chapter Two contains a brief overview of the early research, which was largely concerned with whether non-maternal child care affected the security of mother–child attachment, and also gives a more detailed description of research on the effects of the quality of child care. As well, the European values approach to the issue of quality in child care is discussed.

Chapter Three discusses the question of whether non-maternal (and sometimes non-parental) child care is harmful to infants. The debates in the research community are reviewed and the major measure used in this research – the Strange Situation – is critically examined.

Chapter Four examines research employing a broader approach which takes into account the effects of the family environment when studying the effects of non-maternal care; studies from several countries are included. Research which extends the notion of attachment to other carers as well as to mother is also discussed.

Chapter Five contains a description of Head Start and other early intervention programs which aim at improving the educational opportunity and wellbeing of children from disadvantaged home backgrounds. Evaluations of these programs and the implications for child care are discussed.

Chapter Six argues that child care is not a substitute for home care, but rather it provides children with experience in a different setting. Dual socialisation at home and in child care is the reality for many children, and the implications of this for future research are discussed. Some researchers argue that it is the ramifications of *not* providing high quality affordable day care which should be the subject of early childhood studies.

1

The Changing Context of Early Childhood

Non-maternal child care is now a common feature in the lives of many preschool children in Western countries. This change in the context of early childhood is the result of increases in the numbers of mothers returning to the paid workforce after the birth of their children.

The transition from the traditional 'breadwinner father, home-maker mother' family to dual-earner family has not been straightforward, with considerable resistance, often promoted by the media, coming from those with the view that the mother–child relationship is unique and essential to the child's wellbeing (Rodman 1992).

As a result, particularly in the English-speaking countries, acceptance of non-maternal child care has been slow, and from the perspective of mothers, often guilt ridden. According to Lamb and Sternberg (1992): 'In most Western Europe and North American countries, for example, the use of formal non-maternal care facilities has increased more rapidly than the positive attitude toward such forms of care. Economic circumstances have forced families to make non-maternal care arrangements of which many parents, and others in the communities, disapprove.' (p.3) However, although various conservative groups continue to hold that the proper place of mothers is in the home with their children (Rodman 1992), such criticism, with the passage of time, has eased.

Another major difficulty in the transition to the dual-earner family has been the provision of suitable child care and the question of who should pay the costs. Here, it is interesting to look at the experience of Nordic countries. Although it has been a slow process taking over 30 years, high quality public provision of child care is now available for most children in the Nordic countries, and these countries are the most

accepting and least critical of non-maternal care of preschool children (Rodman 1992; Sommer 1992). In Nordic countries it is now generally accepted that the socialisation of preschool children is a joint responsibility between the family and other appropriate institutions, usually provided by the State (Dencik 1989; Sommer 1992).

These days the process of socialising children is a shared one as parents can no longer fully prepare children for life in our complex society, and most parents need the support of outside agencies and individuals, although this is not always acknowledged (Keniston 1977; McGurk et al 1993).

Mothers and the Workforce

The increased workforce participation of mothers is now an established pattern in most Western countries. The United States was the first English-speaking county to experience the phenomenon and continues to have in the workforce the highest proportion of mothers of very young (preschool aged) children. In recent years, the greatest increase in workforce participation in the United States has been of mothers of children under twelve months of age; by 1987, more than 50 per cent of mothers of children under twelve months were in the workforce (Phillips 1991). It is projected that by 1995, two-thirds of children under the age of six in the United States will have mothers in the workforce.

Australian children, like American children, are growing up in a context which has changed in many ways from the one their parents and grandparents knew as children. In 1991, almost two-thirds (60.4 per cent) of couple families with dependent children had both parents in the workforce, and in only 36.2 per cent of these families there was one parent working (McDonald 1991).

In the debate about the effects on children of mothers working, the focus is on children of preschool years rather than on older children. The workforce participation rate for Australian mothers with children in the 0–5 age group is now 48.4 per cent. Of these mothers, 29.6 per cent were working part-time, 14.3 per cent were in full-time employment and 4.5 per cent were unemployed and seeking work (ABS 1993). As children get older, maternal workforce participation increases: for mothers of children in the 5–9 age group it was 68.2 per cent and for the 10–14 age group it was 72 per cent (ABS 1993).

The trend reported in the United States for mothers of infants under

twelve months to return to the workforce is occurring in Australia also (although not to the same extent). Family day care providers in Australia report an increasing demand for care of infants under twelve months of age (Petrie 1990), and the study of the use of maternity leave in Australia conducted by the Australian Institute of Family Studies (Glezer 1988) indicates that mothers begin returning to the workplace from six weeks after the birth. The last Australian Bureau of Statistics Child Care Survey (ABS 1990a) reports that 7.5 per cent of infants in any type of non-maternal care are in formal care only, 5.2 per cent are in informal and formal care, and the rest are in informal care only. The provision of child care is now an important issue for government as well as individual families.

Mothers are working outside the home for many reasons, but financial need is a great incentive. When mothers in the AIFS Early Childhood Study who were in the workforce at any time in the target child's preschool years (591 of the 728 mothers) were asked why they had worked, approximately two-thirds said they had worked for the money. Australian families are increasingly dependent on two incomes, not only for luxuries, but also often for the basic necessities of daily living.

The Research

During the 1960s and 1970s, as the number of mothers of preschool children in the workforce increased rapidly, there was growing concern about the effects of non-maternal care on the children. This concern focused not just on whether child care would harm children; there was also interest in the effects of non-maternal care on children's attachment to their mothers, as it was believed that separation from mother in the very early years could lead to insecure attachment to mother and later psychological problems. As time passed, the focus of concern shifted to the relationship between aspects of the quality of substitute care and child outcomes. Then, by the mid-1980s, as the number of mothers in the United States with children under twelve months of age entering the workforce burgeoned, the focus of interest became the possible negative effects or 'risk factors' associated with long hours of non-parental care on infants.

Investigation of the effects of non-maternal child care has been a complex process because it relates not only to the social, psychological and cognitive development of the child, but also to the provision of child care and other related policy issues such as the

availability of parental leave or maternity leave to care for very young children. The research has thus involved both policy analysis of factors in the provision, availability, costs and quality of child care, and also empirical analysis of the situation of the child, most often carried out by developmental psychologists (McGurk et al 1993).

The boundaries between these two approaches have sometimes been quite rigid, although the empirical research is often motivated by policy-related concerns. For example, Belsky (1990), a central figure in the debate in the United States about the effects of long hours of non-parental care on infants, points out the reasons for his apprehension: 'Clearly, to the extent that developmental risk is associated with extensive care initiated in the first year, it seems to be because of the conditions of employment (for example, no parental leave) and the nature and quality of care routinely available to families in the United States today.' (p.896) Unlike Sweden, where non-parental care of children is not a contentious issue, where quality child care is available and where there is parental leave of various kinds, including 18 months paid parental leave after the birth of a child, there are few mandated provisions in the United States to assist working parents cope with the dual responsibility of work and family.

Researchers in the United States have initiated and dominated work on the effects of non-maternal care on children. This is associated with the fact that the United States was the first of the Western countries to experience mothers of preschoolers entering the workforce in substantial numbers, and also with a concern in the research community about the generally low standards of non-parental child care and the lack of mandated parental leave (Belsky 1988; 1990; Hayes et al 1990).

Child Care Provision in Australia

In Australia, formal child care for children in the preschool years consists of long day care centres, family day care which is provided in private homes by registered carers – usually as part of a supervised scheme – and preschools/ kindergartens which are educational, and usually sessional, for children aged about four, although some start earlier. Nevertheless, informal care by relatives, non-relatives and sometimes older children is the most commonly used form of child care in Australia, particularly for younger children (ABS 1990).

As equity of access to child care is considered important in Australia, fee relief is provided on a sliding scale according to family income, in both government funded and commercial child care centres and in

family day care schemes. Families on the lowest income have full entitlement for fee relief. However, because of the high cost of centre-based care there is sometimes still a gap between what the government pays and the actual fees that parents pay. Currently child care is governed by economic policy, and families where both parents work are given priority; however in the past, child care had more of a welfare orientation (Gifford 1991).

The quality of child care, which is governed by regulations in each Australian State, represents a basic standard which is generally higher than in the United States. Currently, the Federal government is attempting to achieve consistent basic national standards of child care through the cooperation of the States, and also to ensure a high standard of care by setting up a system of accreditation with a mandatory component for all services where parents are entitled to fee relief.

In 1990, Australia ratified International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention 156, *Workers With Family Responsibilities*. Article 1 of the Convention makes it clear that parents should not be prevented from working by their responsibility for the care of children. The Federal government is committed to increasing the number of child care places, and part of the government strategy is to encourage employers to provide child care places through joint ventures with government (Edgar 1991).

Despite the increase in the number of places available in formal child care throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the number of places falls short of demand (Maas 1989, ABS 1990). Children aged two to four years make up more than half the children with unmet requirements for formal long day care, while children in this age group currently take up 70 per cent of the places in this form of care. Children under twelve months of age comprise only 5 per cent of current usage of formal long day care but represent an unmet need of 11 per cent (ABS 1990). Family day care places are required by 15 per cent of those with an unmet demand for formal care (ABS 1990). Just over a quarter of children requiring family day care places are presently cared for informally by their parents only, and over 60 per cent of these children are in the younger age group aged two years or less.

The Emphasis on Maternal Care

Examining the effects of any one element in the environment on child development is far from simple. For example, an exclusive focus on the mother-child relationship omits vital family and cultural

influences on children (Edgar 1992). Alison Clarke-Stewart (1984) argues: 'The question of day care "effects" is one of the most complex environmental issues developmental psychologists have yet faced. It took many years to begin to be able to describe the complex and subtle connections between maternal behaviour and children's development. It took even longer to recognise and examine systematically the contributions of fathers and siblings. Now, in order to understand children's development as it may be affected by day care, we must put together these family relations with a totally unknown – and unruly – set of extra-familial factors.' (p.61)

The situation is further complicated because it is often assumed that day care refers to centre-based care while in fact only a very small percentage of children are in centre care – most are in informal care in their own home or some other person's home (ABS 1990).

Thus the effects of non-parental child care may vary depending on other influences on children's development: Hayes et al (1990) argue that the nature of environmental influences on children is best thought of as probabilistic. 'Recent research and practice with children posits risk factors, conditions or events that increase the probability of negative or less than optimal developmental outcomes, and protective factors, conditions or events that increase the possibility of positive or optimal developmental outcomes. Risk and protective factors are thought to influence development most often by interacting with other sources of influence on a child's development. Child care could function as a protective factor, a risk factor, or a relatively neutral factor for particular developmental domains' (p.46). However, the research has tended to take a negative approach and look more at risk factors than at the positive effects of non-maternal care.

Attachment Theory

Much of the fear about the possible negative effects of non-maternal care on preschool children stems from interpretations of John Bowlby's research in the 1950s which emphasised the importance of mother–infant bonding and attachment, and the detrimental effects of separation from mother (Bowlby 1953). His work was based on Freud's psychoanalytic theory which stresses the importance of early childhood and the relationship with the mother, and ethology, the science of animal behaviour (Tizard 1986; Scarr and Dunn 1987). Bowlby believed that attachment had a protective function during the long period in which human infants are helpless and dependent, and maintained that during the first year of life humans develop an

attachment 'system' similar to 'imprinting' in animals which maintains proximity of infant and mother (Bradley 1989).

The following definition of attachment by van IJzendoorn and Tavecchio (1987) reflects the influence of ethology and gives some indication of the reasons why attachment theorists were concerned about the effects of non-parental care on very young children.

> [Attachment is] the term for a relatively durable affective relationship between a child and one or more specific persons with whom it interacts regularly. Children attached to a caregiver will try to remain in his or her direct vicinity, in particular at moments of sadness, fatigue, tension, and fear. In more or less unfamiliar surroundings – a new play area or when visiting strangers – the attachment figure is the secure base from which the environment is explored, and only this person provides a sufficient feeling of security for the child to play freely. Especially under circumstances of stress, the child will resist the departure of and separation from this person, and upon this person's return, it will cling to him or her or express in one way or another joy at the renewed presence of this most important source of security and confidence. (p.6)

Bowlby had trained as a psychoanalyst before World War II and his research on maternal deprivation and the importance of attachment appeared in the 1950s, at a time when Freud's ideas were gaining widespread public acceptance and when women were expected to stay at home and care for their children (Riley 1983; Scarr and Dunn 1987; Bradley 1989). Attachment theory has had considerable impact on the direction of research on the effects of substitute child care, and the researcher Belsky, who sparked the debate on the effects of long hours of non-parental care on children under twelve months of age, works largely within the constraints of attachment theory (Belsky 1986, 1988, 1990; Belsky and Rovine 1988; Belsky and Braungart 1991; Belsky and Eggebeen 1991).

Bowlby's major work, from which attachment theory evolved, was actually concerned with the effects of maternal deprivation on infants and young children separated from their families and brought up in institutions and foster care. His particular concern was with children suffering almost 'complete deprivation' where they had no one person caring for them in a personal way. Bowlby's report to the World Health Organisation led to better and more appropriate care for children in institutions. He also described 'partial deprivation' where

the child does not receive the loving care which is needed although living at home, or when removed from the mother's care (Bowlby 1963).

In his report, Maternal Care and Mental Health, first published by the World Health Organisation in 1951, Bowlby (1952) stressed the role of mothers as all-important: 'What is believed to be essential for mental health is that the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with his mother (or permanent mother substitute) in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment.' (p.11) He saw fathers as playing only a secondary and supporting role to mothers: 'Nevertheless, as the illegitimate child knows, fathers have their uses even in infancy. Not only do they provide for their wives to enable them to devote themselves unrestrictedly to the care of the infant and toddler, but, by providing love and companionship, they support her emotionally and help her maintain that harmonious contented mood in the aura of which the infant thrives.' (p.13)

Bowlby claimed that young children could suffer psychological damage if separated from mother or mother substitute in the first five years of life; he also claimed that this is one of the principal causes of delinquency. However, this claim has not been borne out by research in the 30 or 40 years since. Separation from mother has not been found to have long-term effects on children in families, rather delinquency and behaviour problems have been linked with ongoing conflict in the family (Rutter 1976, 1981a, 1981b, 1984, 1989; Tizard 1986).

Although Bowlby (1973) claimed it was not harmful for mothers to leave their babies and young children occasionally with their own mother or a known dependable adult, he also stated that 'to start nursery school much before the third birthday is for most children an undesirably stressful experience'(p. 54). It became generally accepted that children were at risk if mothers went out to work before they were three or even five years, and that work should be part-time only.

Oakley (1981) argues: 'The reason why Bowlbyism caught on was that his message fitted the spirit of the times: the 1950s were a reactionary time for women' (p.217).

The ideas of Freud and Bowlby have reached far beyond the world of research and clinical practice, largely via child rearing manuals and the popular press. One of the most popular of the child rearing manuals which has been in use since World War II, is Baby and Child

Care by Dr Benjamin Spock. There have been several editions of this manual and it has been reprinted many times. The following is Spock's message, in the 1961 edition, to mothers considering returning to the workforce:

> The important thing for a mother to realise is that the younger the child the more necessary it is for him to have a steady, loving person taking care of him. In most cases, the mother is the one to give him this feeling of 'belonging' safely and surely. She doesn't quit on the job, she takes care of him always in the same familiar house. If a mother realises clearly how vital this kind of care is to a small child, it may make it easier for her to decide that the extra money she might earn, or the satisfaction she might receive from an outside job, is not so important after all. (p.570)

Bowlby argued that children are innately monotropic. By this he meant that their primary attachment is to one figure and that this attachment to mother is qualitatively different from other attachments (Bowlby 1969; Rutter 1979, 1981; Tizard 1986). However, this argument was challenged by Schaffer and Emerson (1964) whose research indicated that by the start of the second year only half the children in their sample were attached principally to the mother, nearly a third were attached primarily to their fathers although he was not the primary caregiver, and some were attached to several people. Attachment is not dependent on the amount of time spent with the child but rather the quality of the relationship (Rutter 1981; Tizard 1986).

Mary Ainsworth, who had worked with Bowlby and who later developed the 'Strange Situation' technique for assessing attachment, believed that mothers' sensitivity to the signals of their infants was a key factor in attachment, and that attachment in infancy was a good predictor of later social and emotional behaviour (Rutter 1981; Tizard 1986; Karen 1990). Both Bowlby and Ainsworth believed that insecure attachment in infants was the result of inadequate mothering.

Child Care in Historical and Cultural Context

In the light of Ainsworth's and Bowlby's emphasis on the uniqueness of the mother's role, and their argument that children are monotropic, it is interesting to note that a survey of non-industrialised countries in the late 1970s found that child rearing is usually shared with other members of the extended family and it is rare for mothers to be

exclusively responsible for children (Tizard 1986; Weisner and Gallimond 1977, cited in McCartney and Galanopoulos 1988). For example, the care of young Maori children is seen as the pleasure and the responsibility of the family group. In Pacific Island cultures, there is no word for mother; mothers and aunts share the same name and responsibilities (Meade 1988). In these societies mother care is not exclusive nor is it idealised. Silverstein (1991) points out:

> From a historical and cross-cultural perspective, many different arrangements for the care and rearing of young children have existed over the centuries of human evolution. In hunting–gathering societies, after weaning, the mother returns to her central role of gathering food, and the responsibility for the young child is assumed by a multisex, multiage group of children (Draper 1975). In an agrarian-based society, care of very young children was most often relegated to older women (grandmothers and aunts) in the extended family. Within this type of agricultural society, because much of the paid work occurred in the home, men as well as women participated in both the rearing of the older children and the production of economic resources for the family (Lancaster and Lancaster 1987) . . . The definition of mothering as a full-time job did not exist. (p.1026)

It is important to note that in British society it was not until the 19th century that child rearing became the exclusive province of mothers as a result of the separation of home and work which occurred with the Industrial Revolution. This separation led to the isolation of the middle-class mothers in the home and set the scene for the idealisation of motherhood which occurred in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Dally 1982). The mother who stayed at home became the ideal, although it was difficult for those on low incomes and the poor to live up to this ideal (Zelizer 1985; Ochiltree and Edgar 1981). However, the wealthy and the upper classes could buy the care of a Nanny, and/or a governess and maids for their children and although these mothers were 'at home', their children were not in mothers' exclusive care.

Lamb and Sternberg (1991) contend that because of the long period of dependency of human infants the care of children has traditionally been shared between parents and other members of the community. 'Exclusive maternal care throughout the period of dependency was never an option in "the environment of evolutionary adaptedness" and there are no societies today in which it is a typical practice. Indeed,

exclusive maternal care was seldom an option in any phase of human history; it emerged as a possibility for a small elite segment of society during one small portion of human history. It is testimony to the power of recent mythology, and ignorance of the dominant human condition throughout history, that exclusive maternal care came to be labelled as the traditional or natural form of human child care, with all deviations from this portrayed as unnatural and potentially dangerous.' (p.2)

According to Lamb and Sternberg (1991), economic forces play the major part in determining whether women will work outside the home and the form of child care arrangements used. While fewer women these days can afford to stay at home with their children, many mothers and other members of the community still believe that they are doing their children a disservice by leaving them in the care of others, particularly in the years before their children start school (Harper and Richards 1986). Scarr and Dunn (1987) argue that 'the dilemmas of modern motherhood arise from a mismatch between the current realities of family life and ideas about mothers and children that suited the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' (p.50).

Phoenix and Woollett (1991) say that psychology, and developmental psychology in particular, supports normative ideas about motherhood and how mothers should behave with their children: 'By confining many studies to mother–infant pairs where mothers are married and observed when they spend their days alone at home with their children (while the children's fathers are employed outside the home), psychologists reify popularly accepted notions about the circumstances in which motherhood should occur .' (p.21)

Fathers

Studies over the last two decades have also indicated that father's role is both more important and more direct than was previously realised (Lamb, 1976, 1977; Clarke-Stewart, 1980; Pederson, 1980; Chibucos and Kail, 1981; Parke, 1981). Nevertheless, the relationship between fathers and their children is different from that of mothers and their children. Mothers tend to be more talkative with their children while fathers play more, and in a more rough and tumble way than mothers. From birth, babies respond differently to mothers and fathers. Although father's influence is different from that of mother's it is possible for fathers to nurture and to take on the role of primary caretaker if they wish to do so (Russell 1982). As Lamb and Oppenheim (1989) indicate:

198

> Although mothers are associated with child care and fathers with play, we cannot assume that fathers are less capable of caretaking. A number of researchers have attempted to investigate the relative competencies of mothers and fathers with respect to caretaking and parenting functions, and the results of these studies are fairly clear. First, they show that in the newborn period, there are no differences in competence between mothers and fathers – both parents can do equally well (or equally poorly). Contrary to the notion of maternal instinct, parenting skills are usually acquired 'on the job' by both mothers and fathers. Because mothers are 'on the job' more than fathers are, however, they become more sensitive to their children, more in tune with them, and more aware of their child's characteristics and needs. (p.13)

As time passes, fathers appear less competent because they usually have less time with their children than mothers who become correspondingly more sensitive to their children. However, this difference can be reversed if father takes a more nurturing role due to separation, or illness of the mother, or because he chooses to stay at home and care for the children while mother is in paid work (Lamb and Oppenheim 1989).

Four suggested determinants of the degree of father involvement with children are: first, motivation (not all fathers want greater involvement but indications from surveys in the United States are that 40 per cent of fathers would like more time with their children); second, skills and self-confidence in caring for children; third, the degree of support they receive, particularly maternal support; and finally, institutional practices within the workplace that facilitate or inhibit father's involvement in caring for his children. In a study of Australian fathers, Burdon (1992) found that it is the demands of work which restricts their time and involvement with their families.

Consistent with several studies involving infants and preschool children, Lamb and Oppenheim (1989) found that where fathers are more involved, and are responsible for at least 40 per cent of the 'within-family' child care, their children are 'characterised by increased cognitive competence, increased empathy, less sex-stereotyped beliefs, and a more internal locus of control' (p.21). The researchers suggest several reasons for this difference: parents provide less stereotyped behaviour and attitudes to male and female roles; children have the benefit of two involved parents and receive more diverse stimulation, particularly in the area of cognitive competence;

20 1

because of the increased involvement of both parents in child rearing they may feel more fulfilled and have a warmer richer relationship and family life.

In response to the work of Schaffer and Emerson (1964) with Scottish children, and to Ainsworth's study of attachment in children in Uganda, Bowlby, in his later work (1969), gave more recognition to father's role as a subsidiary or alternative attachment figure; nevertheless, he continued to argue that principal attachment figures act in a 'mothering way'.

Child Development

Some understanding of child development as well as changes in the social context of childhood is fundamental to concerns about the effects of substitute care on children. However, child development is not a simple concept, as there are cognitive, physiological and socio-emotional dimensions and children do not necessarily develop at the same rate in each. A child may be more advanced in one area of development than in others, or may be retarded in one dimension while not in others. Within each area of development there are many segments: for example, cognitive development is more than just intelligence, and intelligence is also broader than merely logical thinking and verbal/linguistic ability. Gardner (1983) argues that there are at least seven areas of intelligence.

Children's development is influenced by the complicated interaction of the many factors which exist within the child, the family, and the community, and not just by the age of the child (Hayes et al 1990). Influences on development within the child include temperament and in particular the quality of inhibition (Kagan 1984; Maccoby and Martin 1983; Luthar and Zigler 1991), genetic inheritance (Plomin and Loehlin 1985; Dunn and Plomin 1990), gender (Mussen et al 1990) and health factors (Bronfenbrenner 1991). Influences within the family include the quality of family relationships in general, family conflict (Nye 1957; Raschke and Raschke 1979; Porter and O'Leary 1980; Ellison 1983; Ochiltree and Amato 1984), parent–child relationships (Maccoby and Martin 1983; Clarke-Stewart 1988; Bronfenbrenner 1991), parenting style and values (Baumrind 1978), as well as more objective factors such as the educational level of the parents, family income and parental health (Kalinowski and Sloane 1981; Bronfenbrenner 1986). Community and neighbourhood factors such as the quality of children's services and other services for families, the quality of housing and the mobility of the family may

also influence the development of children (Rutter 1981; Garbarino 1982; Burns and Homel 1984).

The culture into which children are born also has a major affect on development and the competencies acquired by children. As Edgar (1992) points out: 'Competencies are socially defined, they are skills and capacities that are valued in the culture the child enters and they can be taught, fostered, nurtured or (if socially devalued or unacceptable) discouraged, ignored, frustrated. Beyond our inborn genetic capacities, and beyond our inborn motivation to master the world around us, the culture that precedes our birth fosters some forms of competence over and above others. We can see this in the way different cultures value the child with physical prowess, an "aggressive" temperament compared with a "strong will", good political skills versus "manipulative" tendencies, football versus violin playing, a right-hander compared with a "molly-dooker". The child's innate talents may not be those the society values and disjunctions in development may occur.' (p.5)

Because of beliefs about the essential and exclusive role of mother and attachment theory, of particular concern when examining the effects of substitute care on preschool children has been their social–emotional development.

The Active Child

For many years, particularly during the 1940s and 1950s at a time when the popular theories for child learning were basic drive reduction, innate instinct, and social reinforcement, research was designed as if children were entirely shaped by parents and focused more on the child rearing practices of parents than the activity of children (White 1959; Hartup 1978; Skolnick 1981). However, it is now recognised that, from birth, children are active in the developmental process (Donaldson 1978; Clarke-Stewart and Apfel 1979; Gamble and Zigler 1986). Both theoretical and empirical evidence has accrued showing that children are active participants in the socialisation process. The theories of the cognitive psychologists, Jean Piaget, Noam Chomsky and others, are based on the premise that children have a built-in tendency to explore and master the environment, and to learn the unstated rules of the world about them (Ginsberg and Opper 1979; Wine 1981; Skolnick 1981).

Research over the last 20 years or so indicates that babies, although limited in their physical development, actively attempt to master their

environments very early in life (Rheingold 1971; Schaffer and Crook 1978; Bell 1979). The environment in this sense is both physical and human, with the infant attempting to predict and control both (Donaldson 1978). Research suggests that alert, responsive babies get more attention from mothers than less responsive babies, that difficult new babies are more easily stressed than others, and that mothers talk less to irritable babies (Tizard 1986). Children take an active role in relationships, not just within the family but in all settings; however, some environments, including non-parental care environments, are more responsive to babies' activities and signals than others.

Moreover, different views and images of childhood which exist in any given society or during a particular historical period also influence the way in which children are reared. For example, the Calvinist view of the innate depravity of children in the 18th century, led to very severe treatment of children in order to break the will of the child and to control sinful impulses (Stone 1979).

As Ochiltree and Edgar (1981) point out: 'Several images of children may co-exist leading to competing theories in regard to the upbringing of children, some of which may be complementary while others are mutually exclusive. For instance, those who believe children can be conditioned into acceptable behaviour and attitudes will keep to a rigid system of rules to train the child correctly, while those who believe that the child is naturally good and corrupted by society will take pains to provide a suitable environment. However, images of childhood are mostly implicit in the behaviour and beliefs of parents and educators rather than explicit.' (p.6)

There are several images of children operating in present day Western society, but a significant image is that of the psychologically vulnerable child shaped almost entirely by early experience with mother.

The Child in the Family Context

Tizard (1986) points out that findings from research in the years since Bowlby's work 'fit better with a different theoretical model: that infants from birth enter an extensive social network, of which the mother–child relationship is only one component. Each part of the network makes an important and distinctive contribution to the child's socialisation.' (p.1)

Siblings also have a role in the socialisation of the child and although

to some extent the family environment is a shared one there is much that is not shared – each child has a unique relationship with mother, father and any siblings, and the child's relationship with each family member is dependent to some extent on how it compares with other relationships in the family, particularly parent–sibling relationships (Dunn and Plomin 1990). Thus children in the same family can have very different experiences and influences although they share the same parents, the same household, and the same neighbourhood.

Recent developments in attachment theory are more in keeping with these ideas about the importance of a range of significant relationships. Some attachment theorists now include the 'extension hypothesis' or ethological-evolutionary approach in which, as argued by van IJzendoorn and Tavecchio (1987), 'the optimal caregiving arrangement would consist of a network of stable and secure attachment relationships between the child and both its parents and other persons such as professional caregivers, members of the family, or friends' (p. 24).

The 'extension hypothesis' supports formulations of attachment theory which stress the feelings of security children derive from a protective adult. Children with several attachments have an advantage as an insecure attachment to a primary caregiver may be compensated for by other securely attached relationships (van IJzendoorn and Taveccio 1987). Children separated from one attachment figure may not experience anxiety if another attachment figure is present. Recent research has provided support for the extension hypothesis.

Long-term Effects of Early Experience

One of the reasons for the concern about the effects of non-maternal care on children is the belief that early childhood is a crucial stage in development which has long-term effects on children and their happiness as adults (Kagan 1984). A central tenet of attachment theory is that early experience, and in particular the mother–infant relationship, is vital for later personality development (Thompson 1988). This notion, which derives largely from the work of Sigmund Freud and the psychoanalytic school, as well as that of Bowlby and Ainsworth, has been widely disseminated over the years to parents via the media and in the child rearing literature. Lamb and Sternberg (1991) point out the ideological basis for these views:

> The inhabitants of the Western industrialised countries are all steeped in the Freudian and post-Freudian belief that early

> experiences are crucially important; we seldom step back and recognise this belief as an ideological statement of faith, rather than as an empirically proven statement of fact. Consequently, Western social scientists seldom recognise this belief in the crucial importance of the early weeks, months, and years of life is not shared by most people today, and many societies, particularly in Asia, emphasise the effects of experience occurring after the age of reason (six or seven years). In such societies it is not unreasonable to emphasise custodial aspects of care designed largely to ensure survival until the age of reason begins. Thus these differing belief systems have major implications for child care practices, and the seriousness of concerns about the quality of care. (p.11)

While research shows that there is both constancy and change in child development from infancy to adulthood, it also indicates that what happens in the preschool years does not pre-determine future development (Clarke and Clarke 1976, 1984). While not denying links between stages of development, Kagan (1984) points out that: 'Studies of normal children reveal that behaviours, motives and beliefs normally undergo alteration with development. The results of several longitudinal investigations of working and middle-class American children, most of whom were growing up in relatively stable and supportive homes, indicated that variation in psychological qualities during the first three years of life was not very predictive of variation in culturally significant and age-appropriate characteristics five, ten or twenty years later, while variation during the early school years, especially five to ten years of age, was predictive of adolescent and adult profiles.' (p.25)

In a comprehensive examination of this issue, Rutter (1989) argues that the belief in long-term effects of early experience has been challenged by findings from research over the last three decades: 'It became clear that people changed a good deal over the course of development and that the outcome following early adversities was quite diverse, with long-term effects heavily dependent on the nature of subsequent life experiences. Even markedly adverse experiences in infancy carry few risks for later development if the subsequent rearing environment is a good one.' (p.24) For example, Elder's (1977) work on children of the great depression indicates that not all children who suffered deprivation in the Depression were negatively affected in the long term, there were also positive effects. Belsky (1988), noted for his concern with risk factors associated with infant experience in non-

maternal care, also acknowledges that early experiences do not have inevitable long-term consequences.

Furthermore, Dencik (1989) points out that much of the research on children, including research on the effects of substitute care, is overly concerned with the long-term development of the child to the extent that the child's immediate wellbeing and needs are almost overlooked:

> What I state here should not be taken to mean that a child's upbringing is of no significance at all. On the contrary, the kind of upbringing a child has is vital for how the child is functioning at that time of its life. What we are talking about here is having respect for the particular needs and requirements of children as such. There is a fundamental difference between this approach and the 'child-as-calculated-investment' approach which is the main preoccupation of those of the clinical–psychological persuasion. For it is within the clinical–psychological paradigm that the child is seen primarily – and often, retrospectively – as a potential adult. (p.157)

Conclusion

Studies of the effects of non-maternal care on children are not value free; they are part of the saga of non-maternal child care and the politics of motherhood in Western society, but particularly in the United States. Current employment trends are challenging the ideology of motherhood, particularly the notion that only mothers can nurture young children.

Over the years the research questions have changed, and studies examining the effects of non-parental care on children have gone through several phases (McCartney and Galanopoulos 1988).

2

ATTACHMENT AND QUALITY

By 1970, the mothers of almost a third of all pre-schoolers in the United States were in the workforce and the provision of child care had become an important issue. However, according to Lamb et al (1992): 'Unlike the ideological commitment that led to the birth of Head Start as a program designed to enrich the lives of pre-school children, the demands for day care in the 1970s and 1980s were fuelled by the need for custodial care; of course, enriching, high quality care would have been welcomed, but this was not the primary motivation in seeking out-of-home care.' (p.213) The increasing use of non-maternal child care, particularly centre-based care, was thus viewed by many with some concern and apprehension. (For further discussion of Head Start see Chapter 5).

Child Care and Attachment

The two major child care research concerns in the 1970s were whether child care in centres was bad for children and whether non-maternal care affected the security of mother–child attachment.

This early research indicated that children in child care were just as attached to their parents as children cared for at home (Belsky and Steinberg 1978; McCartney and Galanopoulos 1988). It also indicated that attachment to mothers was not replaced by children's relationship with their caregivers, and that while children could develop an affectionate relationship with a stable and concerned caregiver they did not treat the caregiver as their mother and they retained a clear preference for their own mother (Clarke-Stewart and Fein 1984). Nevertheless, stable and responsive caregivers could provide comfort and security for children in their care.

In a major review of literature covering this early period of research on the effects of non-maternal care, Belsky and Steinberg (1978)

concluded that children in high quality centres were not harmed by the experience, that day care did not disrupt children's relationship with their mothers, and that there could be cognitive gains for children from low income families. However, some findings were inconclusive or even contradictory: for example, some studies found that children in child care were more cooperative with peers, while others found them somewhat more aggressive with peers and less compliant with adults than children cared for at home by mother.

This first body of research has since been criticised for its methodological limitations: for example, family background indicators and values were not included, and the children studied were cared for in high quality centres, often on university campuses, whereas many children in the community were actually cared for in centres with lower standards (Phillips and Howes 1987; McCartney and Galanopoulos 1988).

Although Belsky and Steinberg (1978), are often reported as giving child care a 'clean bill of health' in their review of this early period of research, they in fact made a number of criticisms (King and MacKinnon 1988). They argued that assessment methods of doubtful merit were used, and that the focus of the research had been narrow and had not addressed the broader questions in regard to the effects of non-parental child care. A final comment in the review indicates that they considered a good deal more research was needed before any firm conclusions could be reached: 'To even say the jury is still out on day care would be in our view both premature and naively optimistic. The fact of the matter is, quite frankly, that the majority of evidence has yet to be presented, much less subpoenaed.' (p.946)

Quality

In the late 1970s, researchers became concerned with the relationship between the quality of non-maternal child care and child development. According to Belsky (1990): 'The discovery that high quality day care need not compromise child development changed the agenda for day care research by underscoring the need to identify child care factors and processes that affected the development of day care reared children, particularly practices and conditions that might be subject to legislative regulation.' (p.894)

This second body of research aimed at identifying objective indicators of high quality child care, and also at assessing if low quality child care was harmful to children's development (Howes 1986, 1988, 1990;

Belsky 1990). It is important to note that not only is the quality of formal child care available in the United States generally low but also the states vary dramatically in the standards required by their regulations (Hayes et al 1990).

Deborah Phillips (1987a), a well known researcher in the United States, in the preface to the book *Quality in Child Care: What Does Research Tell Us?*, stresses the importance of the research on quality:

> One must look to research to find systematic attention to questions of child care quality. Quality has, in fact, become the central topic of study among early educators and developmental psychologists. Having moved beyond obsolete debates about *whether* child care helps or harms development and about *which types* of child care are best, researchers are now asking, '*How* can we make child care better?' Accordingly, research is now beginning to capture the vast diversity among child care environments and to relate this diversity to how children fare in child care. (p.ix)

Defining Quality

Nevertheless, quality is a complex concept and can be defined in many different ways depending on the objectives of the care and the perspective taken. For example, early in the research on child quality, it was pointed out by Ruopp et al (1979) that:

> Quality day care has several dimensions: it is a service to working parents, it enhances children's development, and it may be part of a broader range of services to children and parents. Depending on one's point of view, one or another of these aspects may be more or less important. However, the three are not mutually exclusive but rather complementary. Focusing on any one aspect to the exclusion of the others gives only a narrow and partial picture. All three must be addressed in any comprehensive discussion of quality. (p.61)

More recently, Farquhar (1990), acknowledges that several viewpoints on quality can be identified. According to Farquhar the major perspectives are: the child development perspective, the government or regulatory perspective, the welfare or social service perspective, and the parent perspective. However, she also points out several other perspectives which can be taken, including that of the child, the social policy and funding perspective, the staff position and the cultural

viewpoint. Quality can thus be defined from any one of these viewpoints, although there is considerable overlap between the perspectives (Ruopp et al 1979). For example, the child development perspective is related to most other perspectives.

These different perspectives on quality are associated with somewhat different concerns. For example, when quality is viewed from the government/regulatory perspective the State is seen as having a moral responsibility for setting standards for child care and monitoring compliance with these standards (Farquhar 1990). From the social service/welfare perspective quality is concerned with the provision of comprehensive services and with intervention in terms of remedial education, parenting education and ancillary health services. This perspective, which is largely associated with Head Start in the United States, aims at enhancing children's success at school, improving the quality of family life and reducing the disadvantage suffered by children whose families are in lowest socio-economic strata of society (Ruopp and Travers 1982; Farquhar 1990).

If quality is examined from the consumer perspective of working parents the criteria usually include the happiness of the children, affordability, service availability, positive staff relationships with parents and children, the convenience of the location, children's health and safety, and more recently, the requirement that program philosophy supports parent involvement (Ruopp et al 1979; Farquhar 1990).

From the child perspective, quality is concerned with children's perceptions of the child care setting – whether they like or dislike the experience. This perspective has rarely been considered by researchers (Farquhar 1990).

Quality from the social policy funding perspective is concerned with the extent to which the State is willing to provide funding for early childhood services. Research from this perspective focuses on the trade-off between indicators of quality such as the staff/child ratio, teacher education, and group size and the costs per child to parents and the State (Ruopp et al 1979; Ruopp and Travers 1982; Farquhar 1990).

From the viewpoint of child care staff, quality is concerned with working conditions, financial rewards and employment-related benefits, structures and decision making in the workplace, and the psychological effects of the work environment. The study of program quality from the staff perspective is essential as staff levels, staff

satisfaction and staff attitudes have an important influence on children's experiences in child care (Farquhar 1990).

The final perspective suggested by Farquhar (1990) is the cultural viewpoint: 'When quality is defined in terms of social norms, values, customs and beliefs of the people served by an early childhood centre, then this is a cultural specific perspective on qualit.' (p.21). It is this perspective which comes closest to the position taken in the European Community in developing a values approach to quality (Balaguer et al 1990).

There is much overlap between these different perspectives on quality and they are not mutually exclusive. Assessing quality not only involves specifying the goals of care, but also choosing indicators of quality (Ruopp et al 1979). Quality assessment can involve examining the *elements* of child care (such as the staff/child ratio, caregiver education, group size, and facilities and equipment) and/or evaluating *processes* (that is, what actually happens in the classrooms and centres) by focusing on interactions between caregivers and children, children and peers, and between caregiver and parent.

The empirical research-based approach to questions of quality in child care taken frequently by researchers in the context of the United States is in marked contrast to the approach to quality taken in Europe more recently. The European approach is to identify more subjective criteria for quality based on values (Balaguer et al 1990). This direction, on which less is written, will be discussed later in this chapter.

National Day Care Study

The first major study of quality issues in the United States was the National Day Care Study (Ruopp et al 1979). This is a seminal study and the most comprehensive examination of the effects of variation in selected measurable characteristics of centre-based day care on quality (and because of this, it will be discussed here in more detail than other studies). The study was initiated by the United States Federal Government to guide national child care standards (Phillips and Howes 1987) and data were collected on children and caregivers in 64 child care centres. Ruopp et al (1979) state:

> Because the National Day Care Study was designed to address issues of policy relevance, only those characteristics of day care centers which were currently or potentially subject to government regulation and which were believed to affect the

> quality of a child's day care experience were selected for study as independant variables: that is, as variables whose costs and effects were to be measured. Regulated characteristics included staff/child ratio, size of child groupings, caregiver qualifications, in-service training, nutritional program, health care services, parent participation and provision of supplemental services to children and families. (p.13)

However, the primary focus of the study was staff/child ratio, group size and caregiver qualifications as these were widely accepted as influencing the quality and number of interactions between staff and children. For example, higher staff/child ratios were presumed to increase child safety and the opportunities for staff to stimulate cognitive and social development in children; education, training and experience of caregivers was presumed to make them more sensitive to children's needs (Ruopp et al 1979).

Although the researchers involved in the National Day Care Study used rigorous scientific methodology, it is important to note that they also acknowledged that: 'Assessing quality requires that value judgments be placed on different patterns of effects' (Ruopp et al 1979, p.61).

The 64 centres included in the descriptive phase of this study were located in Atlanta, Detroit and Seattle. These sites were chosen because they had different demographic characteristics and offered sufficient numbers of centres to implement the quasi-experimental stage of the study. In assessing child developmental outcomes, child and family characteristics were taken into account as well as centre characteristics and classroom processes. Centres were classified as having high or low values of each of the three major variables – staff/child ratio, group size and caregiver education.

The first stage of the study involved the selection and trialing of instruments for measuring child developmental outcomes and for observing classroom practices and interactive behaviour. However, the researchers acknowledged that there were restrictions on the choice of measures of development as suitable tests were limited to the relatively narrow area of cognitive and language skills. Some tests of social and emotional development were suitable only for small scale studies where highly trained staff were involved, whereas the National Day Care Study was large scale.

After extensive investigation, despite recognising the limitations, it

was decided that standardised tests should be used. The researchers were also asked to devote substantial resources to the direct observation of children and caregivers in natural settings. Variables that were likely to indicate the influence of the centre on the child were selected for observation on the basis of 'common sense or of developmental theory or research' (Ruopp et al 1979 p.65). Two systems of observation were selected, one for caregivers and the other for children; these systems together provided a rich and detailed record of daily behaviour in classrooms. The major instruments used in the study are described below.

The instrument used to record caregiver behaviour had previously been used in Head Start evaluations (Adult Focus Instrument – AFI). It consisted of a Physical Environment Inventory which describes space, equipment and other materials in the classroom; a Classroom Snapshot describing activity patterns at a given point in time; a Five-Minute Interaction record describing in detail the behaviour of a specific caregiver. For example, the caregiver's behaviour was observed in the categories of management, social interaction, observation (of children), centre-related activities and each of these categories was then broken down into more detailed items. Observations also indicated whether the caregiver's behaviour was directed to a single child, a small, medium or large group of children, or to other adults.

Similarly, the Child Focus Instrument (CFI) was adapted from a previously used instrument which coded child behaviour. The instrument consisted of 54 specific behaviour codes which were organised into the following categories: verbal initiatives, reflection/innovation, cooperation/compliance, general interest/participation, aimless wandering, non-involvement, task persistence, attention to adults, attention to other children and attention to the environment.

The standardised tests chosen were the Preschool Inventory (PSI) and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT). It is the use of these conventional tests that was the most controversial aspect of this study as their relevance was questioned and black consultants pointed out that they were culturally biased (Ruopp et al 1979).

Appraisals of processes within classrooms were carried out in all 64 centres, using observations of caregivers and children, measures of development based on standardised tests and rating scales described above, before commencing the second experimental phase of the study. In analysing the data collected in the first phase the researchers

formulated hypotheses about the relationships between the regulatable variables, other centre characteristics, classroom processes and child developmental outcomes. According to Ruopp et al (1979):

> Judgements of quality were based on the entire pattern of caregiver behaviour, child behaviour and test scores that emerged from this analysis, rather than on preconceived notions of the values of particular behaviours in classroom interaction or the frequency of their occurrence. For example, it was not decided in advance that the praising of children by caregivers is an unqualified good, and that more praise invariably makes for a better classroom. Rather it was discovered empirically that praising was part of a cluster of caregiver behaviours that tend to go together (comforting, responding, instructing, and questioning were among the others) and that also were associated with active participation and high test score gains on the part of children. A positive value was placed on this whole complex of caregiver behaviours, child behaviours and child test scores. (p.65)

Thus, the researchers commenced the experimental phase of the study on an informed basis. This stage consisted of two experimental approaches. The first involved 49 centres in a quasi-experimental procedure which compared three groups of centres on the basis of differences in the staff–child ratios. The first of these three groups was a treatment group that consisted of 14 centres which had been earlier been classified as having low staff/child ratios (1:9.1) and which were raised to 1:5.9 in this phase of the study. The second group consisted of 14 untreated low ratio centres (1:9.1) and the third group consisted of 21 untreated high ratio centres (1:5.9). Group size and caregiver experience and education were as far as possible equally distributed across the three groups. The effects of treatment (raising the ratio to 1:5.9) on caregivers and children in the first group was compared with the other two groups.

The second experiment involved another eight of the centres, located in Atlanta, and consisting of 29 classrooms. Children were randomly assigned within each centre to three groups of classrooms varying systematically in relation to staff/child ratio and caregiver education. Group size and caregiver experience were distributed equally across the three groups in each centre.

Overall, analysis of data showed that the major regulatable characteristics of child care centres examined in this study were

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

consistently associated with the measures of day care quality. It was found that in smaller groups in comparison with larger ones lead teachers interacted more with children socially and were less engaged in merely observing children; children were more cooperative, showed more verbal initiative and innovative behaviour; children displayed less hostility and aggressive behaviour and were less often uninvolved or wandering aimlessly; children made greater gains on both the Preschool Inventory (PSI) and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT). In higher ratio classes compared with lower ratio classes lead teachers spent less time managing children and more time involved in activities related to the centre and with other adults. Where classes were supervised by lead teachers with child-related education/training they spent more time interacting socially with children and the children were more cooperative and more persistent in their approach to tasks and were less frequently uninvolved in activities (Ruopp et al 1979).

> Small groups, especially those supervised by lead caregivers with preparation relevant to young children, are marked by activity and harmony. Caregivers are warm and stimulating. Children are actively engaged in learning and get along well with others. Presumably as a consequence of this type of day care experience, children also make rapid strides in acquiring the skills and knowledge tapped by standardized tests. Larger groups, especially those supervised by caregivers without education or training specifically oriented toward young children, present a contrasting picture. Caregivers fall into a passive posture, monitoring activities of many children at once, without active intervention. In such an environment, some children 'get lost'. Apathy and conflict are somewhat more frequent than in small groups. And, again presumably as a result of these classroom dynamics, gains on standardized tests are slower than they might otherwise be in day care settings. (p.78)

Relationships between group size and scores on the tests and between child-related education/training of teachers were strongest where the centres served children from low-income families.

In the experimental components of the study, where staff–child ratio and teacher education/training were manipulated, the results were mostly non-significant. The researchers concluded that: 'Raising either staff/child ratio or level of staff education in isolation is not an effective way to increase quality in child care, at least within the limits

of the policy-relevant ranges and durations of changes examined in the NDCS, in contrast, natural variations in group composition and child-related education/training are associated with distinctive patterns of caregiver behaviour, child behaviour and test scores. Group composition and certain caregiver qualifications are thus indicators of quality, although NDCS data do not permit firm conclusions as to their causal status.' (p.80)

Group size was found to be more important for quality than the staff/child ratio because the number of children with whom the lead teacher interacts is more affected by total group size than ratio. The lead teacher is usually responsible for the overall supervision and organisation of the group and, although aides take some children in small groups, they rarely take a major role. Thus for the lead teacher the staff/child ratio is often in fact the total number of children in a class (Ruopp et al 1979). Analysis of data also indicated that lead teachers in fact devote progressively less time to working with small groups of children as the overall number of children under their supervision becomes larger. Children in large groups thus spent more time in interaction with peers and less time with adults than children in smaller groups .

In addition to the main part of the National Day Care Study described above, a sub-study of Infant/Toddler Day Care was carried out. This study, which investigated the availability of infant and toddler day care in the United States, also described characteristics of this care, and related observations of behaviour in classrooms to regulatable centre characteristics (Ruopp et al 1979). Observations of the behaviour of 74 caregivers in infant and toddler classrooms were carried out in 38 centres. The findings were very similar to those of the main study (Ruopp et al 1979):

> The data suggest that the group composition (ratio and group size) of infant and toddler classrooms is associated with the quality of the day care experience for staff and children. The relationships for ratio and group size vary in strength across specific behaviours but in general are all in the same direction. Overt child distress was greater in low-ratio infant and toddler groups. Low ratio is also related to increased staff time spent in management or control situations with children. In addition, more infants were observed to be apathetic and exposed to potential danger in low-rating situations. (p.268)

Staff education had a positive relationship with social interaction,

stimulation of language with adults in toddler groups, and lower ratings of child apathy and potential danger in infant groups. Specialised training of staff also showed a positive although non-significant relationship. Extensive staff experience, however, was associated with more child apathy and more potential danger for children (Ruopp et al 1979).

Further Research into Quality

Since the National Day Care Study, the enquiry into quality has continued and many of the early findings on specific aspects of quality have been confirmed. Zaslow (1991) points out that there are three distinct approaches to the way in which quality is measured. The first approach has been to structural measures of specific aspects of quality (as is the case in the National Day Care study), the second uses global or summary measures of quality, and the third approach is the use of experiential–interactive measures of behaviour and relationships between the caregiver, children, peers or parents. However, the third approach focusing on interactive behaviour or processes is used at times as an independent variable associated with particular developmental or behavioural outcomes or at other times as a dependent or outcome variable associated with a particular combination of quality indicators; this can cause some confusion in discussion of the research. Some studies combine more than one approach.

In summarising findings from research on quality in the following section the two approaches, specific indicators of quality, and global or summary measures of quality, will be used as an organisational framework; experiential interactive measures used as either independent or dependent variables will be included in these two approaches.

Specific Indicators of the Quality of Non-parental Care

Research findings on specific aspects of quality include the adult–child ratio, group size, caregiver education and training, caregiver experience, child age range, staff turnover, program structure and the effects of the physical setting. Findings from the National Day Care Study (Ruopp et al 1979) are also included for comparison purposes. Findings relating specifically to a particular age group will be indicated because the effects of particular indicators often vary depending on whether the children are infants, toddlers or older pre-schoolers.

Adult–child ratio

The adult–child ratio was found to be the best predictor of quality for infants and toddlers in centre-based care but not in family day care (Howes 1983). The adult–child ratio was associated with frequency of playing and talking in infants and toddlers (Howes and Rubenstein 1985). Infants and toddlers were more likely to be upset and apathetic where there were more children per staff member and staff spent more time controlling the children (Ruopp et al 1979).

As the number of pre-school children to adults increased, teacher–child verbal interaction decreased in frequency and in length, and teacher talk was more restricting and directive (Smith and Connolly 1981). Reuters and Yunik (1973) found that where there was an adult–child ratio of 1 to 12, and children spent more time interacting with peers and less time with adults than where the ratio was 1 to 3.5. The findings of other studies were complementary: in British child care centres where there were more adults per child, children and adults talked more, and the children engaged in more complex play (Bruner 1980). A study of 80 white children in centre-based care in the United States found that an adult–child ratio of 1 to 12 and enclosed classrooms was associated with more peer interactions and verbal and fantasy play than for children with a higher ratio of adults to children of 1 to 4 and open classrooms (Field 1980).

A more recent study (Howes et al 1992) of the effects of regulatable variables found that: 'Licencing standards for ratios do make a difference in the quality of care provided for children. The California 1:8 standard for preschoolers was associated with higher levels of appropriate caregiving than the FIDCR (Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements) 1:9 standard. It appears that even with stringent regulations it is possible to further define quality. Policy makers sometimes believe that simply adding one more child can't make that much difference. Our results suggest otherwise.' (p.458)

Group size

Optimal caregiving for toddlers in both family day care and centre-based care was associated with fewer children per caregiver; larger groups were less socially stimulating (Howes 1983). Where there were smaller groups teachers engaged in more talk and social interaction with infants and toddlers, and the children made greater intellectual gains and engaged in more elaborate play (Ruopp et al 1979; Bruner 1980).

Toddlers in larger groups (more than three children per adult) experienced more adult restrictions and control, less social interaction, and cried more (Ruopp et al 1979; Howes and Rubenstein 1985). Infants and toddlers were found to talk and play more in smaller groups than large groups (Howes and Rubenstein 1985). Infants and toddlers in smaller centres were less distressed by separation from parents when they arrived at the centre, and those in larger centres differentiated between stable caregivers and other less regular caregivers (Cummings and Beagles-Ross 1983). Infants and toddlers in home care and smaller centres had higher scores on a talk and play factor (Howes and Rubenstein 1985), and toddlers were higher in social competence in groups of moderate size (Clarke-Stewart 1987).

In family day care, too many preschoolers (more than five children) or too few (a one-to-one relationship with the caregiver) was associated with lower social competence with peers. Large groups of preschoolers in centre-based care were lower in sociability with mother, had less social understanding and lowered social competence at home (Clarke-Stewart and Gruber 1984). Small groups of preschoolers were associated with more carer–child social interaction, and more cooperative and creative children (Ruopp et al 1979). Preschoolers in larger centres had more physical play and those in smaller centres engaged in more elaborate fantasy play (Bruner 1980).

Caregiver education and training

More caregiver training related to children was associated with greater stimulation for infants and toddlers in both centre-based care and family day care, and less negative affect and restriction for those in centres (Howes 1983), and to better care generally in family day care (Stallings and Porter 1980). Infants and toddlers with stable caregivers, and caregivers with training in child development were more self-regulated and more compliant with adults (Howes 1983).

Where carers were better educated this was found to be associated with better language and cognitive development in toddler groups, and less apathy in infant groups (Phillips and Howes 1987; Phillips, McCartney and Scarr 1987; Belsky 1990). Higher levels of caregiver education were associated with greater social competence in children (aged two and three years) while higher levels of training in child development were associated with greater cognitive competence but lower levels of social competence (Clarke-Stewart 1987).

The National Day Care Study of centre-based care found that

caregivers with more years of formal education interacted more socially with children and encouraged language and cognitive development; there were also lower ratings of child apathy and fewer potential hazards in the centre (Ruopp et al 1979).

Years of child-related training of caregivers was associated with social and cognitive competence in preschoolers in family day care and more cognitive competence in centre-based care but less independence and social competence with peers (Clarke-Stewart and Gruber 1984). The National Day Care Study (Ruopp et al 1979) found that caregivers with more years of child-related education interacted more with children, and preschoolers in their care were more socially active. Better education among caregivers was associated with more social interaction with children and greater stimulation of language and intellectual development (Phillips and Howes 1987; Phillips, McCartney and Scarr 1987; Belsky 1990). Caregivers with more training were less authoritarian, less punitive and less detached in interaction with children (Arnett 1987). Snider and Fu (1990) found that courses in child development and early childhood education taken by caregivers were associated with greater knowledge of developmentally appropriate practice with preschoolers.

Caregiver experience

The effects of years of caregiver experience (rather than education or training) are less conclusive. Howes (1983) found that caregivers with more years of experience were more responsive in their care of infants and toddlers in both family day care and centre-based care; in contrast, Ruopp et al (1979), in the National Day Care Study, found centre-based caregivers with more years of experience were less involved in social interaction, language and cognitive activities and the children in their care were more apathetic; with older pre-schoolers they found no relationship between years of experience of caregivers and child outcomes. Stallings and Porter (1980) found no relationship between years of experience of caregiver and outcomes for infants, toddlers or pre-school children. Snider and Fu (1990) found that with teachers of preschoolers it was supervised practical experience that counted rather than years of employment in child care.

Child age range

The age range of children in non-parental care was found to affect the behaviour of both caregivers and children. Caregivers in family day care and centre-based care spent less time with older children when they also had infants in their care (Stallings and Porter 1980; Clarke-Stewart and Gruber 1984). In family day care, when there were more

children in the younger age group, caregivers spent more time controlling behaviour and less time in developmentally appropriate activities. When there were more older children (preschool age) caregivers spent more time in language activities (Stallings and Porter 1980). In centre-based care where there were more older children it was associated with greater intellectual development and independence; mixed age groups were associated with lowered social knowledge in children, less competence with both adults and peers and less negative behaviour towards peers (Clarke-Stewart and Gruber 1984).

Staff turnover

One of the current concerns in child care is the high turnover of staff because of low pay and job status (Brennan and O'Donnell 1986; Whitebook and Granger 1989; Whitebook, Howes and Phillips 1989). Yet as Phillips (1987a) says, an important aspect of attachment formation 'is based in part on the availability and predictability of the caregiver: the loss of an attachment figure can be very painful to the young child' (p.10).

Turnover of staff in the United States is 41 per cent per annum and there is a similar trend in Australia to high staff turnover – for example, in New South Wales the staff turnover in long day care services was found to be 85.5 per cent over two years (Whelan 1990). High staff turnover has been shown to affect children; the National Child Care Staffing Study in the United States found that where there were high staff turnover rates in centres children spent more time aimlessly wandering and less time with peers in social activities (Whitebook, Howes and Phillips 1989).

Children showed more positive and less negative affect to stable caregivers when they arrived at child care (Cummings 1980). Where children experienced many changes of care arrangements it was associated with higher rates of insecure attachment to mother in both low income and middle class samples; children in family day care who had experienced a higher number of arrangements had lower levels of complexity of play with objects, peers and adults (Hayes et al 1990). Howes (1988) found that greater stability of early care predicted better adjustment of children in the first grade of school.

Program structure

Studies of program structure have been concerned with preschoolers rather than infants and toddlers, and not all findings are in agreement. For example, in one study, children in centres with highly structured

programs were more compliant with adults but had less social interaction with peers and less fantasy play (Berk 1971), while in another they had more complex play in free periods (Bruner 1980). In general, the findings from research on this topic indicated that children in highly structured programs engaged in less imaginative play, were less independent in tasks, and interacted more with staff than peers (Howes 1986).

Physical setting

Prescott (1981) in a review of research on physical settings and adult–child behaviour in child care points out that density, as measured by number of square feet per child, is one aspect of the child care setting that is usually regulated. However, she argues that there are difficulties in examining density in isolation from other variables as it has more than one meaning. Density can refer to social density, the number of people in the same fixed space, or to spatial density where the dimensions of space are changed while the number people remain the same. In child care settings 'both amount of resources and the ways in which they are organised in space affect behaviour and complicate discussion of density' (p.154). Prescott (1981) also found that physical setting variables, including presence or absence of equipment and its placement, often affected behaviour in ways which were not intended by caregivers.

Research has also indicated that there are a number of positive gains for children in settings designed specifically for them. Children expressed more positive affect, there was higher social and cognitive competence, teachers were more sensitive and friendly to children and children were more involved in high quality outdoor play space. Children were more active when there was more play space and when there was more equipment they played in smaller groups. Where children were more confined there was more aggression (Howes 1986).

Effects of Overall Quality

Research on specific aspects of quality has led to general agreement that the most important predictors of better outcomes on a range of measures, including measures of both cognitive development and social–emotional development, for children in non-parental care are staff–child ratio, group size, and education of the caregiver, especially education related to child development (Clarke-Stewart 1987; Phillips and Howes 1987; Goelman and Pence 1987). However, as Howes (1986) states: 'The final limitation of this research is that good things tend to go together. Settings with low adult–child ratios also tend to

have small groups and stable caregivers, for example. It is, therefore, difficult to isolate the effect of a single quality indicator.' (p.4) Research concerned with the overall effects of quality has thus tended to examine the effects of more global indicators of 'high' or 'low' quality centre on children's development.

These global measures of quality, including rating scales of care quality, or a combination of several indicators of quality, have been used in conjunction with observations of caregiving behaviour and/or interviews (Doherty 1991). Outcome measures employed in these studies have depended on the ages of the children studied and the availability of suitable instruments. Measures used in studies of infants and toddlers include natural observations of specific aspects of behaviour and Q-Sorts of attachment. (The most commonly used Q-Sort was developed by Waters and Deane (1985 cited by Belsky and Rovine 1990) and involves extensive naturalistic observations of infants before identifying their characteristic and non-characteristic behaviour by means of a list of 100 statements about behaviour). Measures used with preschoolers have included various standardised tests of intellectual development including language development, child behaviour rating tests and scales completed by either caregiver or parent or both, and observations of children and caregiver interaction.

For infants and toddlers, where overall quality was higher it was associated with more play with objects and with adults (Howes and Stewart 1987), and more positive behaviour and positive interaction (Vandell and Powers 1983). Toddlers in high quality centre care were more compliant in care and had teachers and parents who were concerned with compliance (Howes and Olenick 1986). Lower quality care of toddlers was associated with more complex and/or stressed family lives (Howes and Olenick 1986; Howes and Stewart 1987), and parents in stressed families were less concerned with compliance (Howes and Olenick 1986). A study of Swedish toddlers using a checklist of quality of centre-based care and family day care, observations of children in the care setting, and Q-Sorts by parents to examine child outcomes, found that quality of care, family support and the sex of the child predicted outcomes two years after starting child care (Lamb et al 1988).

For preschool children, those from better quality centres where there was a high level of caregiver speech did better on measures of language and cognitive development than children who were exposed to higher levels of peer speech, after controlling for family background and current care (McCartney 1984). Children in low to medium

quality centres were more likely to play alone or to wander aimlessly (Vandell and Powers 1983). In the Bermuda study of mostly black children in centre-based care, higher overall quality was associated with higher levels of sociability and consideration for others, and higher levels of task orientation and intelligence in children, as rated by caregivers (Phillips et al 1987).

Vandell et al (1988) found that children from better quality centres were rated by observers as more socially competent and happier and according to peers were less shy. Although the sample was small (20 children) there was a significant relationship between behaviour in centre-based care at four years and child functioning at eight years. Children who at four spent more time in positive interaction with adults were rated as most socially competent at eight and more cooperative, empathetic and able to negotiate conflict, while there was a significant negative relationship at eight between solitary unoccupied behaviour at four and social competence, peer acceptance and conflict negotiation skills (Vandell et al 1988).

A Canadian study indicated that centres were generally rated higher in quality than family day care homes which were more varied in quality, and that quality in family day care was a strong predictor of language development but was not in centre-based care (Goelman and Pence 1987). The findings of another Canadian study were somewhat different; children enrolled in high quality centre-based care had higher language comprehension scores than those in low quality centres (Schlieker, White and Jacobs 1989).

Child care quality positively predicted children's social behaviour (Holloway and Reichhart-Erickson 1988). High child care quality was associated with more positive affect with peers and more fantasy play than low quality care. Children who had entered child care as toddlers later had higher school adjustment ratings (Howes 1990). Better centre quality was also related to lower social deviance scores in children (Kontos and Fiene 1987).

Several studies have found that centre quality is often related to family characteristics: children in higher quality centres often came from two-parent families and families with higher socio-economic status (Kontos and Fiene 1987; McCartney 1990). The National Child Care Staffing Study, on the other hand, found that it was children from middle-income families who were enrolled in centres of lower quality in terms of staff–child ratios, with lower staff wages and fewer staff with specialised training than children from both high and low income

families. Children from high income families were in centres with lower staff turnover rates, with more developmentally appropriate activity, and their parents paid higher fees than the other two income groups. Children in the lowest income group experienced least developmentally appropriate activity.

Children in the United States in better family circumstances thus also tend to experience better quality child care while children in poor circumstances also tend to experience child care of lower quality. This problem does not occur in countries such as Sweden where high quality child care is available to all children (Ochiltree 1991). Nor does the problem occur in countries such as Australia where families are eligible for assistance with fees on a sliding scale, with poorer families receiving almost full relief, and where poor children attend the same centres as children from families on higher incomes, and where regulations for minimum standards are higher than in the United States.

As indicated earlier, good things tend to go together in child care and overall assessments have demonstrated that quality is more than the sum of the individual indicators (Phillips and Howes 1987). Phillips (1987a) concludes: 'In sum, global indicators of quality have confirmed common sense knowledge that better child care is better for children. This conclusion is not insignificant, however, in light of the telling qualification it places on whether child care is detrimental, neutral, or beneficial for children's development. Without attention to the quality of the child care in which children spend their days, answers to the either/or questions of sheer enrolment in child care are not only obsolete, but also uninformative' (p.5).

Taking the child's point of view, Beardsley (1990) also points out that quality is much more subtle than can be revealed by simply listing indicators: 'Good child care programs have very different patterns of interactions between teachers and children, and among children compared to mediocre programs. The children in bad programs may experience rejection, defeat, boredom, and loneliness, often because caregivers fail to understand why children behave as they do and respond to children inappropriately. Conversely, in similar situations with knowledgeable and experienced caregivers, the inevitable conflicts among children are managed smoothly and supportively, and children are consistently encouraged in their explorations and their learning.' (p. x)

Zaslow (1991) claims that this body of research on quality has avoided

many of the methodological problems of the first wave of research: children have come from families across the socio-economic spectrum, many different features and perspectives on quality have been included, and family day care has been studied as well as centre-based care. As already indicated, the process aspects of quality are more difficult to measure and values play a part in assessing whether particular relationships and behaviours are positive for children. Zaslow (1991) concludes that 'the evidence continues to accumulate that overall quality and specific structural quality dimensions are predictive of emotional tone, the content, and the context of interactions observed in child care settings' (p.130).

Perhaps the most critical comment that can be made about this wave of research on the quality of child care, particularly in regard to specific indicators of quality, is that the findings of some research appear obvious and the conclusions in some cases could have been reached by using common sense.

The Values Approach to Quality

Most, but not all, the research discussed so far on the question of quality was carried out in the United States, and aimed at objectively identifying indicators of quality in child care centres or family day care. Smith (1992) argues that there are also dynamic aspects of child care quality which relate to the microsystem within which children develop. This microsystem includes not only the child care setting but family relationships, the home context, and the community. She also points out that child care and the question of child care quality exist within a socio-political context of cultural attitudes and values, where the legal, economic and political systems sustain those values within society. In this perspective, the meaning of good quality child care is' an issue of choice and judgement as well as an empirical question' (p.13).

Smith (1992) describes the New Zealand approach to quality where parents, staff and communities developed charters for their individual centres incorporating their own understanding and commitment to quality. The development of these charters was an awareness-enhancing exercise for parents and teachers. She argues that 'quality is in the eye of the community of providers and users as well as the scientist' and urges 'developmental psychologists to give a place for people's preferences in defining quality' (p.13). Smith also points out that there remains a rich area of further research in comparing notions of good quality in different countries rather than the current empirical

and objective approach based mainly on research from the United States.

In keeping with this perspective, a more subjective approach to ensuring quality in services for young children has been taken by members of the European Commission Childcare Network. In 1990, the Network held a seminar in Barcelona, Spain, which examined the issue of quality assurance and monitoring. Instead of striving to set minimum standards for the diverse member states in the European Commission Childcare Network, the aim of the seminar and the resulting discussion paper was to provide a focus for debating the criteria for high quality services with the objective of putting beliefs and values about children into practice. In this process, not only were criteria for quality discussed, but also actions to guarantee that this quality be achieved were also considered. The result of the seminar was the discussion paper *Quality Services for Young Children* which has been used in an ongoing process of consultation and comment (Balaguer et al 1990).

The discussion paper argues that all children should have equal access to high quality services and that all services should be subject to the same quality assurances even where they are private or voluntary, as they are for children under the age of three in many countries in the network. Definitions of quality are not only seen as subjective but also, to an extent, transitory. Balaguer et al (1990) state: 'Understanding quality and arriving at indicators is a dynamic and continuous process of reconciling the emphases of different interest groups. It is not a prescriptive exercise. On the other hand, it needs to be a detailed exercise which is of direct practical use to those working with young children.' (p.6) Because members of the Childcare Network are from different cultures, with a diversity of views, values and services, the importance of debate and discussion in the process of developing quality criteria is emphasised. In this subjective value-based approach to quality it is argued that three perspectives must be taken into account – those of children, of parents, and of professionals.

Members of the European Commission Childcare Network present at the Barcelona workshop took a different approach to indicators of quality from that of the developmental psychologists in North America. The discussion paper for the European Community (Balaguer et al 1990) argues that:

> These conclusions [the indicators discussed earlier] reflect a particular academic tradition, that of experimental psychology.

> They have been arrived at through a methodology which is reliant on very sophisticated quantitative criteria. They involve no discussion of the values which inform the choice of objectives and criteria – the researcher's values remain implicit – nor is there any recognition that values may not always by shared by all those with an interest in services. Whilst useful in certain contexts, this approach does not reflect the complexity of daily life which families with young children experience, nor the full range of needs, perspectives and objectives which services might recognise and attempt to meet. Nor does it touch upon the important issue of quality assurance. (p.8)

The discussion paper commences from the following value position – that quality services for children should ensure that children in non-parental care have the opportunity for the following: a healthy life, spontaneous expression, esteem as an individual, dignity and autonomy, self-confidence and zest in learning, a stable learning and caring environment, sociability, friendship, and cooperation with others, equal opportunities irrespective of race, gender or disability, cultural diversity, support as part of a family and a community, and happiness. Based on these values, the following ten points were seen as the starting point for discussion of quality in child care: accessibility and usage, environment, learning activities, relationships, parent's views, the community, valuing diversity, assessment of children and outcome measures, cost benefits, and ethos. Under each of these points there is a series of questions to which readers can respond in the consultation process.

In the section on quality assurance the discussion paper addresses issues of policy: legislation and setting standards, financing and resources, planning and monitoring, advice and support, staffing, training, physical resources, research and development, and integration and coordination of services. Again there is a series of questions under each area of quality assurance. The assumption in this section is that quality services includes equality of access to services.

The Coordinator of the Childcare Network, Peter Moss (1993), reports that: 'The document *Quality Services for Young Children* has been very widely distributed throughout Europe by the European Commission Childcare Network. We have used it as part of a consultation procedure, to gather the views of organisations about the issues raised in the paper and the approach to quality the paper takes (that is, that quality is value-based, is defined through a continuous process, which should be democratic and involve stakeholders

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

etc)'(personal correspondence). Comments from various organisations are being prepared for discussion by representatives from member countries of the Network and the final report for the Commission will be written by the authors of the original document.

Costs and Quality

Whether an objective empirical research-based approach is taken to quality or a values–consultative approach, the question of the cost and who should pay, must be addressed. One of the objectives of the National Day Care Study (discussed earlier) was to examine the links between key policy variables – caregiver/child ratios, group size, and caregiver qualifications and experience – and the costs of child care.

Data from the National Day Care Supply Study (of 3100 randomly selected centres), used in conjunction with insights from the NDCS, were used to develop an econometric model which, according to Ruopp et al (1979), 'could test the complex interactions between program practices and costs and predict the changes in centers likely to result from changes in government regulations' (p.113). It was found that the caregiver/child ratio was the key determinant of cost and small changes in ratio could lead to large differences in cost. Caregiver qualifications and experience had only small impacts on wage rates (in the context of the United States) and as a result had only minimum impact on the total cost per child in care. However, it was pointed also out that the wage rates were extremely low, and in general the difference in wages between trained and untrained staff was not great (Ruopp et al 1979).

More recently, Olsen and Link (1992) argue that in the United States 'those who work in the child care profession are basically subsidising, through low wages, the labor of families who have higher incomes than the caregivers'(p.462).

Using data from the 1985 phase of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, Hofferth and Wissoker (1991) found that price is the critical variable in the selection of child care and that the higher the price the lower the probability that parents will choose that form of care. They also found that any one of three options– directly subsidising child care costs, reducing fees, or increasing family income through tax credits – increases the use of centre-based programs. Research in the United States has also indicated a quarter of families cannot afford more than nominal payments for child care as the allocation of 90 per cent of household income goes on essential items such as food,

housing, clothing, medical attention and transport (Thorman 1989 cited by Olsen and Link 1992).

Camasso and Roche (1991) point out that formal group care is consistently the most expensive child care arrangement in the United States. They found that the willingness of parents to change from informal arrangements to formal group care decreases with the number of children under 13 years in the household and that price is also a critical factor.

Camasso and Roche (1991), operationalising quality as a 'multidimensional and age specific phenomenon' (p.1081), also found that the quality dimensions associated with willingness to change care arrangements from informal to formal group care for those with children in the infant–toddler age group were convenience, and for parents with children in the preschool age group were perceptions of the program as enhancing self-respect and respect for others. The most important dimension of quality cited by parents in selecting child care was a warm and loving carer (Goldsmith 1989 cited by Olsen and Link 1992). Hofferth and Wissoker (1992) found that parents do not consistently select high quality care.

Ruopp and his colleagues (Ruopp et al 1979; Ruopp and Travers 1982) maintain that some understanding of the relationship between cost and the workings of the child care centre is needed if the trade-offs between cost and quality are to be addressed. Ruopp et al (1979) state:

> For example, if a more desirable outcome for children in day care can be purchased with little or no increase in cost, then a policy decision to purchase 'better' care is straightforward. On the other hand, if a particular desirable child outcome is very costly per child, a more difficult policy decision arises: whether to provide adequate care to more children, or 'better' care to fewer children given a fixed amount of public monies. For example . . . the cost of maintaining high staff/child ratios can be weighed against the cost of increased wages paid to caregivers. If higher wages directly benefit caregivers (and perhaps children indirectly), and if small reductions in ratio do not reduce the quality of care, then lowering ratios and paying higher wages to caregivers is a viable option. Conversely, serving more children by increasing the number in the care of each caregiver may be seen as a 'better' choice than paying higher wages. Such issues, not easy to resolve since they

> involve competing values and interests, are at the heart of policy considerations. (p.113)

Thus quality in child care is balanced by cost, by values, and by the perspective taken – parent, policy-maker, or child care professional – and by the power of each in the decision making process. However, the socio-political context of cultural attitudes, values and economics in a particular society play an important part in the relationship between both quality of child care and cost, and the role of the State vis-a-vis the role of the family. For example, in Sweden in the 1960s and 1970s, where women's workforce participation was valued in a growing and wealthy economy, high quality community-based child care (and ultimately parental leave of various sorts) supported by the State was seen as necessary and was promoted by a stable government over several decades (Ochiltree 1991). In contrast, child care in Britain, a country which is no longer wealthy, is a private rather than a State responsibility, although the number of working mothers is growing, except where disadvantaged children are seen to be 'at risk' in parental care and have priority in the limited number of government-funded nurseries (Ochiltree 1991).

In an interesting discussion of the ways in which the values of society interact with questions of cost and quality in the United States, Olsen and Link (1992 citing Weikart 1989) point out that:

> Our society has perceived that it cannot afford to pay adequate salaries for the staff because child care workers interact with a low number of children per teacher. As a comparison, it should be noted that in the criminal justice system, society has accepted a guard-prisoner ratio of 1:4. Delinquent adolescents in various kinds of group care homes are afforded a 1:1 staff/teen ratio. The annual salaries paid to the prison guards are not the average $12,000 paid to child care workers, but are more than twice that at approximately $26,000. (p.463)

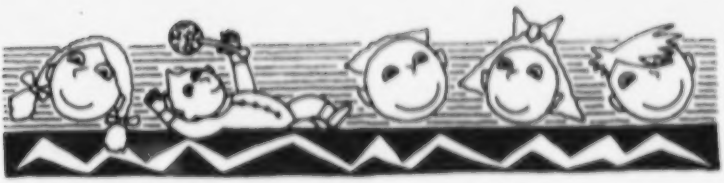
Olsen and Link (1992) suggest that the criminal justice system model should be used for child care.

Conclusions

Quality is important for children's current and future development and for parent's peace of mind, but perhaps most importantly for children's daily wellbeing and happiness.

Two major approaches to the question of quality have been discussed. The first, based on objective research mostly carried out in the United States, has led to the development of a set of indicators, both individual and global, which can be used to assess and/or ensure the quality of substitute care for infants, toddlers and older preschool children. The alternative approach, espoused most strongly by European countries, takes a values approach and is more subjective. This values approach is largely a consultative one to accommodate cultural diversity and variation in identifying criteria for quality child care. However, it is important to acknowledge that the approach based on empirical research also encompasses values, although these values are more likely to be those of the researchers and other professionals than parents, and are mostly implicit in the research.

The consultative, values-oriented approach seems well suited to coping with diverse needs of multicultural societies and the diverse needs of families. Indicators of quality, gleaned from the research can, nevertheless, be used in the process of consultation, and the two approaches are not mutually exclusive. (For further information on ensuring quality in the Australian context, and accreditation and regulation, see AIFS Early Childhood Paper No.6, on child care policy, by June Wangmann.)



3
Does Non-Maternal Care Harm Infants?

As discussed earlier, in the 1980s the numbers of mothers of infants under twelve months of age entering the workforce in the United States increased rapidly. The growth in non-maternal care for infants was seen by some as a new and worrying phenomenon (Gamble and Zigler 1986). However, as Phillips (1987b) points out: 'Infant child care is hardly an invention of the yuppie generation. Working-class women who have always held jobs, and upper-class women who have traditionally hired help with childrearing, have raised generations of children with the assistance of child caregivers.' (p.9) The view that substitute infant care is something new is related to the fact that many of today's parents and grandparents were brought up by mothers who stayed at home in the post-war years.

Most infants in non-parental care in the United States are cared for in their own or someone else's home (77 per cent in 1985) with only a small percentage in centre-based day care (Belsky 1988). This is true also in Australia, where the younger the child the more likely he or she is to be in informal care if mother is in the workforce (ABS 1990). In Britain, until the late 1980s, the most common form of non-maternal care for preschoolers, including infants, was informal care mostly by relatives; grandmothers were most commonly used by mothers working full-time and fathers by those working part-time (Cohen 1988).

In response to the increase in the substitute care of infants, what Belsky (1990) calls the third major wave of research on the effects non-maternal (and non-parental) care, and perhaps the most controversial, involved infants under twelve months of age. The major focus of this research has been on attachment to mothers (and sometimes to fathers) and on the later social–emotional development

of infants experiencing extensive non-maternal care (usually 20 hours or more a week) in the first twelve months.

Implicit in much of the research is an acceptance of Bowlby's theory that children form a unique bond with their mothers. Some recent research is also concerned with attachment to fathers and other caregivers and is more in accordance with recent developments in attachment theory. Nevertheless, the greatest emphasis has been on mother–child attachment (Rutter 1979). The cognitive development of children in non-maternal care has been less in question than social–emotional development, as a number of the earlier studies had indicated that there may be cognitive gains for children in high quality day care, particularly those from low-income families (Belsky and Steinberg 1978; King and MacKinnon 1988).

The majority of studies in this wave of research have been carried out in the United States, and the concerns of the researchers are very much connected with child care provision and policies in that country. For example, in the foreword to *Psychosocial Issues in Day Care* (Chehrazi 1990) Irving Phillips summed up the situation in the United States:

> Day care has become a reality and necessity. Such care, however, is unregulated and unlicensed in too many States. Child care providers are often inadequately trained and poorly paid. Working parents face emotionally and financially difficult demands, and sometimes have little choice in the type of care their child receives. There is no comprehensive national child care policy, nor are there uniform standards to ensure the quality of care . . . A comprehensive day care policy is desperately needed. Planning should begin immediately to provide the best of programs rather than merely to piece together stop-gap measures to meet minimal standards. We should adopt standards that ensure a safe and healthy nurturing environment, with age-appropriate programs tailored to meet the developmental needs of preschool children. Quality must be the watchword if we are to achieve success. (p.xv)

An American researcher, Jay Belsky, has become a central figure in research on the effects of substitute care on infants, or as he would prefer, 'the ecology of infant care' (Belsky 1988). He has written several major reviews of the literature, and has carried out a number of studies with co-workers. He argues that extensive use of non-maternal or non-parental care in the first year of life is a 'risk' factor associated

with insecure attachment and later social–emotional problems. Other researchers have studied infants in non-maternal and non-parental care, but it is Belsky who has not only maintained a continued research interest but has stimulated the often heated debate (Belsky 1986, 1987, 1988; Belsky and Steinberg 1978; Belsky and Rovine 1988). For these reasons, Belsky's work, both his reviews and research, will be described here in some detail. However, other key research and critiques of his work are included so that the issues can be fully explored.

It is not the intention to report all studies examining the effects of non-maternal care on infants under twelve months, as there has been a considerable body of research on this topic. Rather it is to raise the issues. Because the 'Strange Situation' technique is the major measure used in most of the studies of infants to assess attachment in the mother–infant relationship, it is described briefly below.

The Strange Situation Technique

The Strange Situation technique was developed by Mary Ainsworth who along with John Bowlby was the founder and principal developer of attachment theory, described earlier (Karen 1990). Its development was seen as a breakthrough in research on attachment as it enabled the concept to be operationalised in an objective measurable form. Ainsworth created this technique after observing 23 infants and their mothers at home during the twelve months after birth and observing another 33 infants in a more limited way from nine months of age (56 infants altogether). When these babies were approaching twelve months of age the mothers were invited to participate in a brief series of eight experimental episodes with the child (Bowlby 1973). Although slightly modified later, it is these experimental episodes which essentially comprise the Strange Situation technique.

The technique consists of observations of a series of eight episodes of different combinations of mother, baby and stranger in a room. In the first episode mother and child enter a room. In episode two mother puts the infant down between two chairs and sits on one. She does not join in the infant's play unless her attention is sought and then only briefly. At the start of episode three a stranger enters and talks to the mother and then approaches the child; mother leaves the room. Episode four is the first separation period where the baby is left in the company of the stranger. Episode five is the first reunion period; mother returns and greets and comforts the baby. Once the infant is settled again, the mother departs once more saying goodbye to the

child who is left alone. The stranger returns in episode seven, and pays attention to the baby. The second reunion occurs in episode eight when mother returns and comforts the baby (Bowlby 1973; Sagi and Lewkowicz 1987). Each episode in the Strange Situation lasts about three minutes and the behaviour of the infant is scored by observers (Bowlby 1973). These days video tapes are usually used for this purpose.

Ainsworth's observations in natural settings were crucial in the development of the Strange Situation. As Karen (1990) states: Without the painstaking observation that had come before, Ainsworth's findings would have been relatively insignificant, no more than a demonstration that babies reacted differently when separated from and reunited with their mothers. But because Ainsworth's team had observed each of these mother–child pairs for 72 hours over the prior year, they were able to make specific associations between the babies' attachment styles and mothers' styles of parenting. Mothers of securely attached children were found to be more responsive to the feeding signals and the crying of their infants, and to readily return the infants' smiles. Mothers of anxiously (insecurely) attached children were inconsistent, unresponsive, or rejecting' (p.36).

The Strange Situation is essentially a laboratory technique developed to operationalise attachment theory and to make possible the objective measurement of attachment security. It is based on the notion of creating a situation where the infant is stressed enough to stimulate proximity-seeking behaviour. Furthermore, the technique was developed through observations of home-reared infants at a time when more mothers were at home with their infants than is the case today, or at any other time in history (Phoenix and Woollett 1991; Lamb and Sternberg 1992). In recent times there has been significant criticism of the validity of this technique, particularly in relation to its use in research on children in non-maternal care. These criticisms are examined in detail later in the chapter.

The Rise of Infant Day Care as an Issue

In the mid-1980s, after a number of studies had found non-maternal care initiated in the first year of life was associated with increased levels of insecure attachment, the substitute care of infants became a major issue.

Gamble and Zigler, who in 1986 reviewed research on the effects of infant day care on attachment and later social–emotional behaviour,

concluded that they were 'less confident than many of our colleagues about infant day care and less sanguine about it being the major policy option available to working couples in the United States' (p.39). It is important to note that in reaching this conclusion they were depending not only on findings from the research, but also taking into account the fact that high quality infant day care is not readily available in the United States. As a result of their assessment, Gamble and Zigler (1986) argued that 'the most attractive alternative to infant day care is a policy of paid infant care leave for working parents during the first few months of their baby's life' (p.39) .

Gamble and Zigler's (1986) review, although limited to studies using the Strange Situation, indicated that there were factors other than substitute care which appear to be involved in the development of insecure mother–child attachment. Suggested influences were personality characteristics of both the child and the primary caretaker and the degree of family stress. Nevertheless, they also pointed out that 'even the most pessimistic results indicate that more than half the infants starting substitute care in the first year were securely attached at twelve months' (p.32).

Later in the same year, Belsky (1986) in his review paper 'Infant day care: a cause for concern?' supported the less than optimistic position taken by Gamble and Zigler. Belsky's paper, which received considerable publicity outside the research community (Phillips 1987) argued that since his earlier review (with Steinberg 1978), recent studies had led him to revise his position in regard to infant day care According to Belsky (1986):

> There is, then, an *emerging* pattern here in which we see supplementary child care, *especially that initiated in the first year*, whether in home or in centers, sometimes associated with the tendency of the infant to avoid or maintain a distance from the mother following a series of brief separations. Some, as I have already indicated, contend that such behaviour reflects an underlying doubt or mistrust about the availability of the mother to meet the baby's needs and, thus, an insecure attachment. (p.4)

Belsky (1986) suggested several reasons why studies in the 1970s may have failed to find an association between extensive non-maternal care in the first twelve months and insecure attachment in infants. The first and most important reason was that in the 1970s the focus for assessing attachment security in the Strange Situation had been on the

child's reaction to separation from mother and exposure to the stranger; however, attachment researchers had later found that reunion behaviour, rather than separation, was more important and predictive (Bretherton 1985; Belsky 1986; 1988).

Thus in the 1980s, studies of the effects of infant day care on mother–infant attachment concentrated largely on reunion behaviour in the Strange Situation and babies were given one of three attachment classifications: secure, insecure-resistant and insecure-avoidant. Securely attached babies (B) protest or cry on separation but greet mother with pleasure when she returns and are fairly easy to comfort. The insecurely attached children fall into two groups: insecure-avoidant attachment (A) where children give an impression of independence but reject their mother on return, and insecure-resistant (C) where infants tend to be clingy and to seek their mothers on return but resist her efforts to comfort them (Sagi and Lewkowicz 1987).

Another reason given for the failure of the earlier studies to find an association between insecure attachment and extensive substitute care in infancy, was that most samples were selected from high quality university centres, whereas most samples in the 1980s were selected from community-based day care and home-based care (Gamble and Zigler 1986; Belsky 1988).

The reviews by Gamble and Zigler (1986) and Belsky (1986) renewed public debate on the effects of substitute care on infants.

Studies of Infant Attachment and Substitute Care

As indicated earlier, it is not the intention in this chapter to present all studies on the topic, rather it is to focus on issues and key findings in the debate. Nevertheless, it is worth examining some of the studies involved in this wave of research. The five studies described below are typical of those which in the 1980s found some association between extensive non-parental care and increased insecure attachment in infants, as assessed in the Strange Situation. These studies were chosen because the sample from each is used by Belsky and Rovine (1988) in a combined analysis to compare the attachment classifications of children in maternal care with those in substitute care.

The studies are presented in chronological order with research by Belsky and Rovine (1988) last, partly because it received the most attention, and partly because it also combines and re-analyses data

from all the studies described. The samples, the research methodology, and some of the main findings of each study are briefly described; note that very few children were in centre-based care.

1. Jacobson and Wille (1984)

Jacobson and Wille (1984) studied 93 upper-middle-class white infants; less than half the mothers (41 per cent) were employed and only 13 per cent were employed full-time. Attachment security was assessed on the two reunion episodes in the Strange Situation technique. The researchers tested the hypothesis that secure attachment is associated with lower levels of separation distress in infants at 18 months. They also examined the relationship of separation distress at 18 months to both security of attachment and past separation experience.

At 18 months, when separation distress begins to decrease, secure infants were better able than insecure infants to accept brief separations. It was found that for securely attached infants the ability to cope with separation at this time was assisted by a moderate degree of separation experience, but moderate separation experience did not alleviate separation distress in insecurely attached infants. More significantly, in relation to discussion on the effects of non-parental care on infants, they found that infants with the greatest amount of separation experience (in child care) had relatively high levels of distress on brief separation from mother at 18 months. Jacobson and Wille point out that the full-time day care available to these infants (in their past separation experiences) was likely to have been of variable quality and occurred mostly in the home of a babysitter.

2. Barglow, Vaughan and Molitar (1987)

Barglow et al (1987) studied 110 children from a low-risk middle-class sample of children. Fifty-four of the children were cared for by non-relatives in their own home while their mothers worked; the rest were cared for at home by their own mothers. Non-parental care had commenced at least four months before the first birthday of the infants. Although the quality of care itself could not be assessed, mothers were satisfied with their care arrangements and there was no distinction between the two groups in regard to child personality factors and mother's attitudes towards child rearing. A significantly higher proportion of children in non-parental care were categorised as insecure-avoidant in the Strange Situation at twelve to thirteen months of age than were children cared for by their own mothers. However, the association between attachment quality and mother's work status was significant only for the first child of mothers who worked full-time.

3. Chase-Lansdale and Owen (1987)

Chase-Lansdale and Owen (1987) compared the security of mother–child and father–child attachments of 40 infants whose mothers returned to full-time work before they were six months of age, with 57 infants whose mothers were not employed. The sample was of first-born children from basically middle-class homes. Children of employed mothers were cared for in home settings, with just under half (44 per cent) in family day care and the rest cared for by sitters, fathers, other relatives and some in a combination of these arrangements; none were in centre-based care. No association was found between the quality of infant attachment to mother and work status; however, in families where mothers were employed they found a significantly higher level of insecure attachment to fathers for sons but not for daughters. There was also a tendency for boys to have insecure relationships with both parents in families where mother was employed.

4. Owen and Cox (1988)

As part of a longitudinal study of young families, Owen and Cox (1988) studied the impact of maternal employment on mother's functioning and her relationship with her infant. Information on the child care setting was not included. Maternal employment status, role satisfaction, anxiety/depression, perception of the infant, and investment in the parenting role were examined in the study. Thirty-eight middle-class couples were recruited for the study through obstetrical practices. The infants were all first-born children and for inclusion in this analysis mothers had to enter full or part-time employment before the infants were seven months old or have been homemakers for the entire first year of the infant's life.

Data were collected in the home and in the laboratory, during the pregnancy, when the children were three months old, and again when they were twelve months old. Questionnaires, interviews and observations were used. When the children were twelve months old they were twice videotaped in the Strange Situation with each parent separately with a time of approximately two months between each laboratory visit. At twelve months there was found to be a trend for more insecure attachments among the children of full-time employed mothers.

5. Belsky and Rovine (1988)

Belsky and Rovine (1988) studied 149 first-born children of working-class and middle-class backgrounds from intact families. Eighty-two

of the children had been in non-maternal care before they were nine months of age, and 67 were in maternal care. The non-maternal care arrangements were varied but care outside the home by a non-relative or family day carer was the most common, followed in popularity by a sitter in the home, father and other relatives; only 11 per cent of the children were in centre-based care.

Significantly higher rates of insecure mother–child attachment were found in infants who had been in long hours (over 20 hours) of non-maternal care and even higher rates for infants having long hours of non-parental care (care by neither father nor mother). These infants were equally likely to be classified as avoidant (A) or resistant (C). Boys with extensive day care experience (20 hours or more a week) were significantly more likely to be insecurely attached to both parents and less likely to be securely attached to both parents. Although the researchers took an ecological approach and found significant differences on some demographic indices between the care groups, their analysis indicated that the relationship between infant attachment classification and non-maternal care was not influenced by these background differences between child care groups.

In a second stage to this study, Belsky and Rovine (1988) combined the Strange Situation classifications for infants from their own study with those from the four separate studies described above (Jacobson and Wille 1984; Barglow, Vaughan and Molitar 1987; Chase-Lansdale and Owen 1987; Owen and Cox 1988) into secure and insecure attachment categories (combining the resistant and avoidant insecure categories) in order to examine the effects of non-maternal infant care – a sample of 491 infants altogether. Analysis of these combined data found a strong association between the extent of non-maternal care in the first year and security classification. Overall, infants with more than 20 hours of non-maternal care a week were 1.6 times more likely to be classified as insecure in their attachment to their mothers than those with less (or no) non-maternal care.

Nevertheless, Belsky and Rovine (1988) also pointed out that many infants experiencing long hours of non-maternal child care in the first year were not affected by the 'risk' involved. They concluded that: 'Although the current investigation clearly reveals that extensive non-maternal (and non-parental) care in the first year is a risk factor in the development of insecure infant–parent attachment relationships, it just as clearly indicates that complete understanding of conditions of risk requires a focus on the child, the family, and the particular rearing situation.' (p.165)

The Debate in the Scientific Community

Belsky's (1986) review of the effects of infant day care (discussed earlier) led to much public debate in the United States. However, because the controversy was in the public rather than the scientific arena, some researchers considered that it did not convey the full breadth and complexity of the issues involved (Fein and Fox 1988). To provide a vehicle for debate in the scientific community, a special issue of *Early Childhood Research Quarterly (Vol.3, No.3–4, 1988)* published in 1988 focused specifically on infant day care.

The first paper in this special issue, 'The effects of infant day care reconsidered', by Jay Belsky, extended and elaborated his much publicised 1986 review of the impact of non-maternal care on infants. A number of well-known researchers in the United States, including Alison Clarke-Stewart, provided peer commentaries on Belsky's revised review and discussed his interpretations.

Because Belsky's review received so much attention it is described in the following section along with some of the comments from other researchers included in the same issue of the journal.

Belsky's 1988 Review and Peer Comments

Belsky's (1988) review is in three sections. The first section is concerned with studies of the attachment relationship between mother and infant, similar to those described above. The second section focuses on studies of the later social–emotional development of preschool children reared in substitute care since infancy; inferential connections are drawn between these studies of older children and the studies of infants. In the third and final section Belsky discusses other processes and factors which may be associated with increased or decreased risk in children experiencing non-maternal care in the first twelve months.

First section

After discussing the findings on the attachment security of infants in substitute care, Belsky concluded that children with early (under twelve months) extensive non-maternal care displayed significantly more insecure-avoidant attachment than did home-reared children, and that it was boys who were principally affected.

As he had done earlier in his research (Belsky and Rovine 1988), Belsky again combined data on Strange Situation classifications from

four of the studies described earlier (omitting the Owen and Cox 1988 study this time), which examined mother–child attachment security (Barglow et al 1987; Belsky and Rovine 1988; Chase-Lansdale and Owen 1987; and Jacobson and Wille 1984) – 464 cases in all. Using the merged data, and combining the two insecure classifications into one group, he found a clear and significant association between the extent of non-maternal care in the first year and attachment security. Of those infants experiencing less than 20 hours a week of substitute care, 26 per cent were classified as insecure compared with 74 per cent who were secure. In the group experiencing more than 20 hours per week, 59 per cent were securely attached while 41 per cent were insecurely attached.

In her commentary on Belsky's review, Clarke-Stewart (1988) questioned the meaning of such findings. Using the same technique as Belsky to examine the mother–child attachment pattern, she combined the data from 16 studies. Like Belsky, she found that the children of full-time working mothers were significantly more likely to be insecurely attached than the children of mothers working part-time or not at all. Clarke-Stewart asserted that Belsky's negative interpretation is based on correlates of insecure attachment in home-reared children and is therefore highly speculative. Some children classified as avoidant in the Strange Situation may be actively avoiding their mothers while others are accustomed to the situation and therefore do not react to mother's presence. Thus type A (avoidant) classifications may be hiding other sub-types, including children who do not find the Strange Situation stressful.

In her analysis of the combined studies, Clarke-Stewart found that 37 per cent of the infants of working mothers were insecure overall compared with 29 per cent of non-working mothers – an 8 per cent difference between the two groups. She queried whether this difference is large enough to assume that infants are in danger if their mother works. Furthermore, the percentage of insecurely attached infants is not far from Ainsworth's accepted standard of 30 per cent of children insecurely attached. (The accepted standard American distribution of attachment categories is 20 per cent avoidant (A), 70 per cent secure (B), and 10 per cent resistant (C) – that is, 30 per cent insecure attachment overall (van IJzendoorn and Kroonenberg 1988)).

Second section

In this section Belsky focused on the social–emotional development of older preschool children who had experienced non-maternal care in infancy. The concern in this research, based on attachment theory, is

that insecure attachment in infancy, and particularly avoidant attachment, puts the child at risk of later social difficulties such as increased aggressiveness, lack of compliance and perhaps even maladjustment. Belsky pointed out that at the time of the review virtually no longitudinal research data were available to test this hypothesis as studies of infant attachment behaviour and studies of the social–emotional functioning of older preschool children are two separate bodies of research. However, he examined a number of studies focusing on the later social–emotional development of children who had infant day care experience, many of which had been carried out in the 1970s, as well as those from the 1980s. Although there were often contradictory findings in these studies, Belsky drew the following conclusions:

> On the one hand, we could rightly say that the data are too inconsistent to draw any definitive conclusions. If one does feel compelled to draw any irrefutable conclusions, however, a relatively persuasive *circumstantial* case can be made that extensive infant day care experience *may* also be associated with increased avoidance of mother, *possibly* to the point of greater insecurity in the attachment relationship. In addition, such experience may be associated with diminished compliance and cooperation with adults, increased aggressiveness, and possibly even greater social maladjustment in the preschool and early school-age years. (p.256)

While Belsky claimed that these conclusions are consistent with the theoretical tenets of attachment theory, Richters and Zahn-Waxler (1988) maintained that good research requires more than simply demonstrating that a particular outcome is consistent with a favoured theory; it also requires exploration of alternative explanations. For example, aggression and non-compliance may also be interpreted as assertiveness and independence. Clarke-Stewart (1988) declared: 'Day care children may be more "bratty" than home care children; they may want their own way and do not have the skills to get it. This does not mean they are maladjusted. More clinically sensitive measures of maladjustment are needed to prove that case.' (p.303)

Clarke-Stewart (1988) also argues that the evidence from each of the studies cited (Schwartz et al 1974; Vaughan et al 1980, 1985; Barton and Schwartz 1981; Rubenstein and Howes 1983; Schwartz 1983; Haskins 1985), that children who have been in infant day care are later socially maladjusted, is weak, even when taken as a whole. She points out that some of the studies reviewed showed that children who were

insecurely attached to their mothers were not more aggressive, and that one study indicates that they are more adaptive in a play situation with a stranger than securely attached children. Furthermore, she points out, four of the six studies cited in Belsky's review involved poor black or high-risk samples rather than representative samples.

Third section

In the final section of his review, Belsky examined other processes and factors associated with increased or decreased risk in children who experience extensive substitute care as infants. He concluded that there were conflicting findings about the influence of different forms of child care on security of attachment.

In examining other factors which may be associated with increased risk in day care infants, Belsky cited a study where working mothers of five-month-old infants were found to spend more time interacting with them while fathers spent less time than did parents in single-earner families. He argued that these women, and others in a similar situation, may be overwhelming their children with excess affection and stimulation to compensate for leaving them in substitute care. He infers that this may lead to the heightened avoidance reported in other studies where it has been found that mothers of insecure-avoidant infants stimulate them more than mothers of secure infants.

Both Sroufe (1988) and Clarke-Stewart (1988) disagreed with Belsky's argument that mothers of insecure-avoidant infants are over-involved. Sroufe contended that there is considerable speculation at this point in Belsky's argument and that brief observations of mothers are not sufficient to make this claim; mothers in the study may have been attempting to show that they were 'good' mothers and overdoing their attempts: 'In general, the literature suggests to me that emotional unavailability, not over-involvement, is associated with avoidant attachment' (p.287). Clarke-Stewart asserted that making mothers guilty about 'quality time' with their infants and 'overwhelming them with hugs and kisses' is unlikely to benefit either mothers or infants (p.308).

Belsky concluded from his review that developmental risks are increased for boys rather than girls, and that characteristics of mother and experience in the home are the most likely mediators of any effects of non-maternal care in the first year on the development of children. However, he also pointed out the need for longitudinal research with more consideration of the ecological complexity of infant day care before any firm conclusions can be drawn.

65

However, Clarke-Stewart (1988) disagreed with Belsky's conclusions on a number of points including the greater vulnerability of boys. She pointed out that the evidence is unclear and that the Belsky and Rovine (1988) and the Chase-Lansdale and Owen (1987) studies (see earlier descriptions) indicated that the greater vulnerability of boys was in attachment to father rather than to mother.

Although Belsky concluded that there is some risk involved in extensive use of substitute care for infants, several of the commentators did not agree (Clarke-Stewart 1988; Richters and Zahn-Waxler 1988). Clarke-Stewart argued that where families face poverty, or where mother is depressed if she does not work, both circumstances which are known to have a negative affect on children, the small risk involved may be worth it. However, she also maintains that mothers should be informed that there is the possibility that their children may not be as emotionally close to them as if they stayed at home in the first year and that they may not be as obedient. Nevertheless, mothers may be willing to accept these possibilities if they value independence and assertiveness, or when they hear that children in day care are also likely to develop intellectual skills earlier.

Despite his concern about increased rates of insecure attachment in children with extensive non-parental care under twelve months of age, Belsky also pointed out that there were many children in long hours of non-parental care who were securely attached. He argued that it is important to look for factors in the family environment, or in the children themselves, which are protective, as well as those that put children at risk.

Methodological Limitations of the Research

A number of commentators in the special issue of *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* in which Belsky's review appeared pointed out the methodological limitations of the research at the time (Belsky 1988; Clarke-Stewart 1988; Richters and Zahn-Waxler 1988; Sroufe 1988; Thompson 1988). Sroufe (1988) argued that research is largely correlational and causal connections cannot easily be drawn. The representativeness of the samples was also questioned (Richters and Zahn-Waxler 1988), although Clarke-Stewart (1988) pointed out that the strategy of combining samples is one way around this in terms of the size of the sample. However, combined samples may not be homogeneous, and causal factors may differ for unidentified subgroups, although they may not emerge as significant in analysis of

data from the total sample; it is thus easy to conclude erroneously that certain variables make no contribution to child development outcomes (Richters and Zahn-Waxler 1988).

Both Belsky (1988) and Clarke-Stewart (1988) indicated the need for an ecological approach to the research, the problem of confounding factors, and the difficulty of designing research to take in so many interacting factors. The need for longitudinal research was also pointed out (Clarke-Stewart 1988; Fein and Fox 1988; Thompson 1988).

Richters and Zahn-Waxler (1988) suggested alternative models of influence which link early day care experience with child functioning and that highlight the ecology of family life and the range of processes which are possibly associated:

> Numerous characteristics of mothers, fathers, children, family environments, and social circumstance influence the decisions of parents to place children in early day care. Therefore, any links between a child's experience in early day care and subsequent adjustment problems may result from these factors and *not* from the day care experience itself. Until reasonable efforts have been made to explore these variables as alternative causal candidates in explanations of children's functioning associated with early day care, the public will be better served by a moratorium on further debate and a redoubling of empirical efforts. (p.320)

However, the most central aspect of the methodology in this body of research is the use of the Strange Situation technique. Most research on the effects of extensive substitute care on mother–infant attachment examined in Belsky's (1988) review, including his own research (Belsky and Rovine 1988), is based on attachment theory and the belief that insecure attachment in infancy is associated with later social–emotional problems. These studies depended very much on the Strange Situation Technique as 'the only validated and reliable instrument for the assessment of parent–infant attachment available' (Gamble and Zigler 1986, p.29). It is only relatively recently that some researchers have begun using other approaches to attachment and that the predictive value of infant attachment classifications has been questioned. In the following section, the Strange Situation technique, because of its dominant role in this body of research, is critically examined.

Criticisms of the Strange Situation

In recent years the Strange Situation technique has been criticised on several grounds, including validity. It has been argued that the Strange Situation behaviour and actual security of attachment behaviour may at times be quite separate concepts (Lamb et al 1985). In the Strange Situation, mother and child are observed in an artificial laboratory situation which does not take into account many other factors influencing the child's behaviour, including child temperament, family factors and prior experience (see earlier description of the technique). It has been suggested that behaviour in the Strange Situation may also reflect differences in the meaning of the procedure, and hence differences in its level of stressfulness. Babies differ in their experience, and those who have been in child care may appear detached not because they are insecure but because they are more independent, more accustomed to the care and presence of strangers, and used to the coming and going of their mothers (Scarr and Dunn 1987; McCartney and Galanopoulos 1988).

Clarke-Stewart (1988) has questioned the assumption that the Strange Situation technique when used with children accustomed to non-maternal care is psychologically equivalent to its use with home reared children. She points out that the Strange Situation technique 'is premised on creating a situation in which the infant feels moderately stressed and therefore displays proximity-seeking behaviour to the object of his or her attachment' (p.297). The Strange Situation, therefore, may not be as stressful for infants accustomed to non-maternal care as for home reared infants, as familiarity with separation may affect their responses. Clarke-Stewart (1988) states:

> Consider the features of which the Strange Situation is composed – the infant plays with someone else's toys in a room that is not his or her own, is left during daylight hours with a woman who is not the mother, and plays with and is comforted by that woman in the mother's absence; then the mother returns to pick the infant up. Although at least some infants of non-working mothers undoubtedly have had experiences like these before their assessment in the Strange Situation, infants of working mothers are more likely to have had them regularly and routinely and therefore to be more accustomed to them. (p.298)

There is evidence that infants who have been in day care find the Strange Situation less stressful. Day care infants, compared with those who have not experienced day care, are initially less wary of the

stranger, are less upset by mother's absence, and less likely to seek proximity and contact with mother when she returns (Clarke-Stewart 1989).

A study of the leave-taking and reunion behaviour of children and their parents in the natural setting of a university nursery school provides indirect evidence that behaviour in the Strange Situation may not be typical (Field et al 1984). It was found that leave-taking and reunion behaviour differed depending on the sex of the parent involved, the sex and age of the child, and the length of time the child had attended the nursery (Field et al 1984). It was concluded that 'the leave-taking/reunion process is an interactive one, with large contributions made to its dynamics by both parent and child' (p.635). Thus in the Strange Situation day care infants may be classified as insecure, not because of insecurity of attachment, but because they are accustomed to their mothers coming and going, or because their mothers are behaving in an unexpected or strange way in the artificial situation.

Research on children's repeated separations from their mothers provides further evidence for Clarke-Stewart's contention that children become accustomed to the comings and goings of their mothers (Field 1991). The behaviour of 80 children, aged from 12 to 62 months, recruited from the same nursery school, who experienced either a single separation (half the sample) or multiple separations when their mothers were out of town for several days, was observed in natural settings. The children were observed in the nursery setting during free play sessions and at nap-time, before mother's absence, during her absence, and again on her return. Although the first separation was often stressful, infants, toddlers and preschoolers appeared to adapt to the repeated separations. Field (1991) suggested that the children had adapted after the first separation because they were accustomed to repeated separations and that day care experience may thus have protected them from the stress of these longer separations.

In an attempt to rebut Clarke-Stewart's argument that children in non-maternal child care who are classified as insecure-avoidant may in fact be more independent, Belsky and Braungart (1991) re-analysed videos from the Pennsylvania Infant and Family Development Project of 20 children who had been classified insecure-avoidant in the Strange Situation. In recoding, using the original videotapes, it was found that: 'Those infants with extensive non-parental histories cried *more* and played with objects *less* than those insecure-avoidant infants without non-parental care experience or with less than 20 hours per

week of such experience . . . Thus insecure-avoidant infants with extensive non-parental care experience were *not* less stressed or more independent in the critical reunion episodes of the Strange Situation than insecure-avoidant infants with less extensive infant day-care experience.' (p.569)

Notwithstanding, the sample of only eleven children with extensive substitute care is too small to be generalisable and once more there is complete reliance on the Strange Situation. McGurk et al (1993) also claim that there are problems with the procedures employed in Belsky and Braungart's (1991) analysis which would magnify any chance differences existing between groups.

It is interesting also to note Belsky's view of the Strange Situation technique in his 1978 review of research on the effects of non-maternal care on children (Belsky and Steinberg 1978). He and his colleague argued that while the Strange Situation technique had been useful in the study of infant emotional development, they considered it inappropriate in assessing the parent–child relationship in this body of research:

> In our view, the term 'relationship' implies an enduring, generalised pattern of reciprocal feelings and acts which cuts across time and settings. We question whether the strange situation is a valid means of assessing this. Consider the artificial (and unmaternal) behaviour required of the mother: she brings her youngster into an unfamiliar room in an equally unfamiliar building, seats herself in a chair reading a magazine, refrains from initiating any interaction, and then, without any warning leaves her child alone a few moments later with a complete stranger who remains passive, responding only to the child's initiative. A number of questions arise in relation to this procedure: Is such a situation likely to occur in the child's everyday life? Does such a situation actually serve to diagnose the quality of the child's enduring relationship with his mother? And, finally, are the child's reactions to these experimental procedures likely to tell us very much about his or her behaviour in other settings. (p.936)

Cultural Variations in Strange Situation Classifications

Variations have been found in the distribution of classifications in the Strange Situation technique when used in different countries (Clarke-

Stewart 1988). As the Strange Situation Technique has been so important in this wave of research the reasons for these differences are discussed below.

In reviewing studies in several cultures where the distribution of attachment classifications was different from those in the United States, Lamb et al (1985) found that factors other than maternal sensitivity are involved in behaviour in the Strange Situation. They suggest a major reason for this variation may be because differences in the meanings of particular events in each culture make the Strange Situation either more or less stressful:

> When the brief separations are especially unusual and stressful for some infants (as they were apparently for the Japanese infants), or when separations are not stressful (as they apparently were for the German and Swedish infants), or when the stranger is an unusually threatening event (as for the Israeli children), the infants' experiences of the Strange Situation are psychologically different and their behaviour may thus differ from that of American infants. (p.199)

Another explanation for differences in the classification distributions in different countries is that there are cultural differences in parenting styles and expectations (Sagi and Lewkowicz 1987). For example, the German researchers, Grossman and colleagues (1981, cited in Sagi and Lewkowicz 1987), who found a higher proportion of children classified as avoidant compared with the standard distribution, argued that this was due to German mothers' encouragement of independent behaviour in young children. Thus children classified as (C) insecure-avoidant were not necessarily insecure.

Minor differences have also been found in the experimental procedure in different countries and these may also have contributed to the different distributions of classifications (Sagi and Lewkowicz 1987). For example, in the Israeli Kibbutz study a number of sessions were terminated early because of the child's distress and these infants were classified without the full procedure. In one of the Japanese studies the procedure was altered to omit the episode where the infant is left alone because mothers hesitated to leave their infants alone. It is suggested that the Strange Situation may be seen by Japanese mothers and infants as bizarre rather than strange. According to Sagi and Lewkowicz (1987):

> Observations of Strange Situations sessions in other countries,

> as well as personal communication received from leading investigators in this area, suggest that procedural aspects – including size and location of experimental room, amount and type of available stimuli, degree of social desirability evoked in parents as a result of their being approached in different ways immediately prior to the Strange Situation assessment, and the different perceptions of the investigators themselves in regard to the interpretation of the degree of stress which is expected to be evoked by this procedure – may account, at least in part, for the different distributions. (p.437)

Nevertheless, some of the differences are consistent with cultural differences in child rearing.

Other reasons for cultural differences in classifications suggested by Sagi and Lewkowicz (1987) are that researchers make different combinations of sub-classifications based on different interpretations. Different researchers have also attributed disparate meanings to the same sub-group which may thus be included in separate classification groupings. For example, Japanese researchers in studies where there was a higher than expected proportion of C (resistant) classifications argued that this did not necessarily reflect insecure attachment because a number of infants labelled by these researchers as 'inconsistent C' had displayed behaviour like infants classified as B (secure) in earlier episodes. Sagi and Lewkowicz (1987) contend that 'the problems and difficulties discussed so far have raised a number of serious questions concerning the nature of the conclusions that can be reached on the basis of research to date' (p.452).

Finally, a meta-analysis of patterns of attachment in studies using the Strange Situation in different cultures found that not only were there cross-cultural differences in attachment classifications, but, more importantly in this context, there were even larger differences within the same culture (van IJzendoorn and Kroonenberg 1988). It was found that the Strange Situation is subject to differences in classification even when used in the United States where it was developed. Intra-cultural differences were found in the meta-analysis to be 1.5 times as large as the cross-cultural differences although the secure classification was the most common in all countries. van IJzendoorn and Kroonenberg (1988) argue: 'The overall pattern of among-country differences suggests greater relative frequency of A (avoidant) classifications in Western European countries and of C (resistant) classifications in Israel and Japan, with the United States distribution falling in-between these two poles' (p.154).

Prediction Based on Attachment Classifications

In the last decade, the predictive accuracy of Strange Situation classifications regarding later psychological development of children has also been questioned. Jaeger and Weinraub (1990) assert that in studies concerned with non-maternal care and its affects on infant attachment there are two implicit explanatory models for the mechanism by which non-maternal care may affect infant security. The first is the *maternal separation model* which argues that infants in regular non-maternal care interpret mother's absence as rejection. The second is the *quality of mothering* model; maternal employment affects mother's behaviour through stress and/or lack of time and indirectly affects infant attachment security through the mother–child relationship.

Lamb et al (1985) thus contend that there are two possible hypotheses in regard to the predictive capacity of attachment classifications. The first is that earlier behaviour patterns are maintained and consolidated *within the child* (the maternal separation model) and are the basis of later behaviour, although major disruptions in the child's environment may also have some affect. The second hypothesis is that the effects of early parent–infant relationships are more likely to endure where there is continuity in the quality of care and parent–child interaction which is consistent with but broader than the quality of mothering explanation. The first hypothesis implies that the predictiveness of attachment is within the infant and is largely psychological, and the second that it is related to the consistency and continuity of the caretaking conditions.

An assessment of the predictive value of Strange Situation classifications in research relating to later developmental outcomes for children (including cognitive development, cooperation and compliance, behaviour problems, sociability with adults, sociability and social competence with peers) supported the second hypothesis that the predictiveness of attachment lies in the consistency and continuity of the caretaking conditions (Lamb et al 1985):

> These data do *not* support the hypothesis that experiences during an early formative period in the first year necessarily have long-term implications for the child. Rather, it seems that when there is continuity in parent–child interaction and in other circumstances likely to influence child development (inferred from stability of attachment classifications, sample characteristics, or absence of major intervening changes in

> family or caretaking conditions), early patterns of child behaviour are likely to be maintained. The implication, therefore, is that recent rather than early patterns of child-parent interaction may be the bases of observed differences in child behaviour in follow-up assessments. (p.169)

In a critical review of attachment theory as applied to day care, Thompson (1988) found that research does not support the view that attachment alone can have a major effect on child outcomes. He concludes from the evidence that 'it is not secure or insecure attachment by itself that foreshadows later personality functioning, but rather early attachment status combined with consistent caregiving influences that help to maintain and support certain behaviour in offspring over time' (p.278).

Attachment classifications may at the best provide a picture of the situation at the time but do not necessarily predict the child's later behaviour unless similar patterns of care continue without major change. In other words, current caregiving influences are as important as early influences in predicting the psychological functioning of the child (Fein and Fox 1988); quality and consistency of care are predictive rather than attachment alone.

Thus insecure attachment in the first year does not always presage problems, and attachment theory, seen from this perspective, is consistent with longitudinal research on the long-term effects of early experience, discussed in Chapter One, which indicates that effects are dependent on the nature of later experience, and that even quite inauspicious infant experiences carry few risks if the later care is good.

Predicting later development from attachment classification may be particularly problematic in day care children because they are more likely to experience changes of caregiver and changes of location or type of care than home reared children (Thompson 1988): 'Thus for all children – but especially those with day care experience – we can best understand their current behaviour by looking at long-term patterns of care. A secure or insecure attachment in infancy by itself does not lead inevitably to certain psychosocial outcomes for children' (p.279).

To sum up, there has been considerable questioning of the assumptions underlying the Strange Situation technique. The predictive accuracy of the technique has been questioned, particularly if the consistency of other aspects of the environment is not taken into account, and in the

long term, recent rather than past child care history may be associated with observed behaviour in children. There is evidence of cross-cultural differences in the distribution of classifications and even greater intra-cultural differences within the United States. There have been differences in administration of the procedure on occasion, differences in interpretation of behaviour observed in the procedure, and also evidence that there are other influences on behaviour in the Strange Situation such as temperament, different cultural meanings of events and differences in past experience.

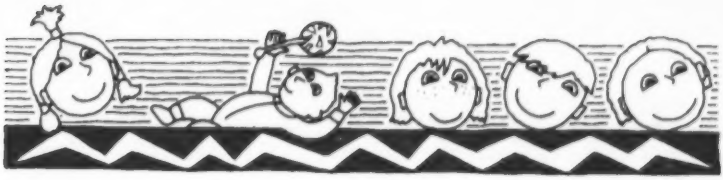
Sagi and Lewkowicz (1987) suggest that, for the time being, there should be a distinction made between actual security of attachment and behaviour in the Strange Situation. Alternative procedures for assessing attachment behaviour and parent–child relationships have been developed more recently and some of the research using these alternative approaches is discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusions

Much of this wave of research is based implicitly on the notion of the special and exclusive quality of children's relationship with mother, although there is occasional recognition that father may also have a role. Overall, the difference in the proportion of insecure infants in non-maternal care compared with maternal care is very small and there is questioning of what it actually means.

Evidence of some 'risk' factor associated with increased incidence of insecure attachment in children in extensive substitute care is slight and there is heavy reliance on the Strange Situation and attachment theory to infer that insecure attachments may lead to later social–emotional problems in these children.

There is considerable doubt about the validity of the Strange Situation technique, particularly with children in substitute care, and there are significant queries about predicting developmental outcomes based on attachment classifications only. There is evidence also that what counts in terms of child developmental outcomes is the ongoing quality of the care and the current care circumstances.



4

Effects of Different Contexts of Child Care

Various Research Approaches

Towards the end of the 1980s several new directions emerged in research on the effects of substitute care on child development, particularly of social–emotional development. The most significant new direction was the broadening of the design, sample and focus of studies to take greater account of family influences (including mother's employment) as well as child care contexts in relation to child developmental outcomes, in a more comprehensive approach. It is interesting to note the gradual change in research focus from concern exclusively with the effects of non-maternal care to non-parental care.

Despite this broader approach, often known as an ecological approach because it takes account of the interaction of factors in the home and the community, old research trends also continued. For example, interest in the relationship between attachment and substitute care continued, with researchers extending their focus to include attachment to other caregivers (not just to mother or to father) and employing measures other than, or in addition to, the Strange Situation.

Although the focus of attachment researchers is much narrower than those taking the broader ecological approach, there has been an advance to a more encompassing perspective, grounded in the realities of contemporary Western society. For this reason, and because concern with attachment has been a major focus in this field of research, recent trends in studies of attachment will be discussed briefly before proceeding to the broader, more complex ecological research.

An Ethological–Evolutionary Approach to Attachment

Fein and Fox (1988) point out that there are two versions of attachment theory. The first has a rather clinical focus on individual differences and assumes that some patterns of attachment indicate emotional problems in the mother–infant relationship. In this view, the importance of mother, and more recently father, is emphasised and 'secure' attachments are optimal while either of the two insecure classifications are undesirable (Fein and Fox 1988). This version of attachment theory is associated with the use of the Strange Situation to measure attachment to mother, and sometimes to father, in research into the effects of infant day care (discussed in the previous chapter).

The second form of attachment theory is the ethological–evolutionary version, sometimes called 'the extension hypothesis', where attachment is viewed as a process which ensures the survival of the young. This ethological–evolutionary approach to attachment harks back to Bowlby's early work on attachment which derived from ethology – the science of animal behaviour. Attachment is seen as having a protective function in the long period when human infants are dependent. In this version, it is accepted that humans are still evolving and that different but viable attachment patterns will emerge adapted to new pressures in the environment, and that optimal caregiving arrangements for children should consist of a network of stable and secure attachments (van IJzendoorn and Tavecchio 1987). According to Fein and Fox (1988):'For the ethological–evolutionary theory, there is no single, universally optimal pattern of attachment behaviours. Rather, infants may acquire different types of relationships with significant individuals. Each pattern needs to be evaluated according to how these relationships function in a particular environment.' (p.229)

In the ethological–evolutionary version of attachment theory children in non-parental child care have the opportunity to extend their attachments to other significant people, and child care may be viewed as a positive experience, or at least neutral in its effects, rather than potentially negative because of separation from mother. According to Howes et al (1988):

> If the child care arrangement provides stable and responsive alternative caregivers, children may compensate for the stress of separation from the parent by forming secure attachments to the caregivers. If the parental attachment is maladaptive, for

177

> example in the case of an abusive or hostile parent, the child's positive attachment to a caregiver provides the child with an alternative model of social relationships and thus may contribute to the development of competence. Even if the parental attachment is secure, an additional attachment to a caregiver would presumably enhance the development of competence. (p.404)

This version of attachment theory thus provides a useful framework for identifying different but adaptive patterns of relationships among parents, infants, and caregivers involved in infant day care, and is related to the more recent directions taken in the research discussed below.

Alternative Measures of Attachment

In accordance with the broader ethological–evolutionary view of attachment, the studies discussed here examine children's attachment behaviour with parents and with alternative caregivers, the concordance of attachment relationships between parents and caregivers (that is, whether the attachment classification is the same or different), and the stability of attachment relationships over time.

Alternative approaches to attachment classification include use of the Waters and Deane Q-Sort for assessing attachment security with parents (Galluzzo et al 1988; Howes et al 1988; Belsky and Rovine 1990; Howes and Hamilton 1992) and/or teachers (Howes et al 1988; Howes and Hamilton 1992), observations of daily separations and reunions with parents to assess attachment categories (Field et al 1988; Howes et al 1988; Howes and Hamilton 1992), and videotapes of reunion with mothers coded for attachment classifications using the Cassidy and Marvin coding scheme for four-year-old attachment classifications (Howes and Hamilton 1992).

However, a number of studies have also used the Strange Situation in addition to other measures (Howes et al 1988; Belsky and Rovine 1990; Howes and Hamilton 1992). Belsky suggests that the Dean and Waters Q-Sort should be used in conjunction with other traditional measures and that the Strange Situation is a more sensitive and accurate indicator of child attachment security, despite the concerns with the technique described in the last chapter (Belsky and Rovine 1990).

In these broader studies of attachment, no evidence was found to

support Belsky's argument that entry into day care in the first year is a 'risk factor' for the development of insecure-avoidant attachments to mother and heightened aggressiveness and non-compliance in the preschool years and early years of school (Field et al 1988; Howes et al 1988). No differences were found between the security of attachment of children who commenced child care in the first six months compared with those who started later (Field et al 1988).

Children had relatively positive and stable attachment relationships with their mothers. However, the stability of the teacher–child relationship was more complex, although when there were no changes of teacher these relationships remained as stable as the mother–child relationship. Where there were changes of teacher between 18 months and two years, the relationship was less secure at first, and there was evidence that children were disturbed by the change. Once the child was past 30 months, teacher security remained fairly stable and the total number of teacher changes was unrelated to the child's final level of security with teacher (Howes and Hamilton 1992). Children who entered part-time care as infants had more stable attachment with mother than children enrolled for more than 20 hours per week.

Overall, the mother–child relationship was fairly stable, confirming that the relationship with mother is the most consistent adult relationship even for the child in substitute care (Howes and Hamilton 1992).

Children who had received more than 40 hours of non-parental care per week were more sociable at preschool than those who had attended a part-time program with their mothers for only a couple of hours per week (Field et al 1988). Some children with insecure attachments with mother formed secure attachments with their substitute caregiver and appeared more socially competent than those who did not form compensatory relationships. On the other hand, children who were insecurely attached to their mothers engaged in lower play levels with the caregiver even though securely attached to the caregiver (Howes et al 1988).

A study by Galluzzo et al (1988) examined another aspect of individual infant behaviour which may affect day-to-day social experiences of infants in child care – the orientation of infants to adults and/or peers. Some studies have suggested that infants can be both peer and adult oriented at the same time, particularly younger children; some prefer the company of adults, and some infants in child care may avoid social contact altogether and remain solitary. Such an

orientation may affect the developmental outcomes of children in substitute care. In this study, children aged 13 to 24 months of age were classified into four groups – adult oriented, peer oriented, adult and peer oriented, or solitary – in order to examine factors which may be associated with social–emotional development.

It was found that the children who appeared most at risk of concurrent social problems were those oriented only to adults or who were solitary; they were rated as more passive and dependent, engaged less in interactive play with peers, and showed more negative affect. The peer oriented and adult–peer oriented children were no more likely than those with adult orientations to be rated as aggressive or less compliant with adults. The only child care variable on which the social orientation groups differed was the amount of time in the current peer group. Solitary children had been in their peer groups for less time than children in other groups, and children classified as adult–peer oriented had been with the current peer group longer than children in all other groups.

Thus, the more recent studies of the attachment patterns of infants in day care have broadened by taking a more ethological–evolutionary approach, have used measures of attachment other than or in addition to the Strange Situation, have taken into account other significant adults, the stability of relationships with parents and teachers over time, relationships with peers, and factors such as child orientation to adults and peers. Unlike some of the earlier studies, where attachment was based only on Strange Situation classifications, and from which claims were made that children in long hours of substitute care were at risk of later psychological difficulties, these more recent studies have mainly examined attachment to parents and teachers in natural settings.

The results of these studies are more sanguine than those relying on the Strange Situation alone, but indicate that the children experiencing the greatest social difficulties are those who are insecurely attached to both carers and mothers.

Ecological Approaches to Child Care Research

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, one of the recent trends in examining the effects of non-parental child care on children has been to take a broader ecological approach to research. During the 1980s it was suggested by several researchers, including Belsky, that to assess effectively the effects of non-maternal care on chil.'ren

studies should take into account the influence of the family background factors and processes, characteristics of mother, father, and child, in addition to factors in the day care context (Bronfenbrenner 1986; Belsky 1988; 1990; Fein and Fox 1988; Richters and Zahn-Waxler 1988; McCartney 1990). For example, in his review of the effects of infant day care, Belsky (1988) not only pointed out the importance of taking an ecological approach but also the inherent difficulties:

> To the extent that day care reared infants do differ in their development from home reared infants, we must be cautious about attributing the cause of these differences to day care per se. This is because a great many factors are confounded with the use of non-maternal child care. Many of them cannot be controlled either by research design or statistical methods, yet they may well be responsible for differences discerned among children with varied rearing experiences in the first year of life. In addition to simple motivation to use day care, these factors may include a variety of parental attitudes and family practices that may well be associated with day care use and child development . . . Researchers comparing the development of infants who are and are not reared in some kind of supplementary, non-maternal care arrangement should probably think in terms of the 'ecology' of day care rather than in terms of the 'effects' of day care. (p.239)

King and MacKinnon (1988) maintain that the important question in regard to the effects of non-maternal care of children is how qualities of the home interact with qualities of the day care environment to affect child outcomes. Thus, as a result of both criticisms of the earlier research and awareness of the need for a broader ecological approach to studies of the effects of non-maternal care on children, frequently research in the late 1980s and the 1990s included information on family, work and child care contexts (Belsky 1990).

Research into the effects of maternal employment on children (a different but related body of research) had indicated changes in family relationships and processes when both parents work. Role strain may occur and cause conflict or a change in the balance of power as parents try to juggle work and family responsibilities and adjust the division of labour in the household. There is abundant evidence indicating that mothers continue to take the major responsibility for child care and housework in dual-earner families, although fathers' responsibilities and role have also changed and fathers are spending more time with

their children (Menaghan and Parcel 1990; Bittman 1991; Ochiltree 1991). Parents have less time together and with their children, and 'time poverty' may be a factor in family life (Earls and Carlson 1993).

In some earlier research a range of family factors had been suggested as mediating the effects of day care on infants and also, in the United States, as influencing the choice of non-maternal care (Hoffman 1983; Belsky 1988; Clarke-Stewart 1988; King and MacKinnon 1988; McCartney and Galanopoulos 1988; Richters and Zahn-Waxler 1988). However, Richters and Zahn-Waxler (1988) suggested that family factors may not merely mediate or buffer the effects of non-maternal care, but may account for child outcomes independently; it is also suggested that characteristics of both mother and child have an influence on child outcomes.

Thus possible influences on developmental outcomes of children in substitute care fall roughly into three groups – family characteristics, characteristics of the mother, and characteristics of the child – although there is considerable overlap between these groupings.

Family characteristics which possibly influence developmental outcomes for children in non-maternal child care are: the quantity and quality of the mother–child relationship (Hoffman 1983; Clarke-Stewart 1988; McCartney and Galanopoulos 1988; Schachere 1990), the father–child relationship (Hoffman 1983; Belsky 1988; Schachere 1990), parenting skills (King and MacKinnon 1988; Belsky 1988; Richters and Zahn-Waxler 1988), family processes such as conflict and stress (Rutter 1976, 1981; Belsky 1988; Fein and Fox 1988), the marital relationship (Belsky 1988; Richters and Zahn-Waxler 1988; Schachere 1990), and job stress (Belsky 1988; Clarke-Stewart 1988).

With older children the negative effects of family conflict on adjustment and self-esteem have been well documented (Nye 1957; Raschke and Raschke 1979; Ellison 1983; Ochiltree and Amato 1984). Schachere (1990) suggests that the marital relationship affects how both husband and wife function as parents and that a good relationship may act as a parent support system. Family characteristics such as socio-economic status, and family structure (single-parent or two-parents) are likely to have both direct and indirect effects on child outcomes, and also influence the choice of non-parental care (Belsky 1988; Schachere 1990; King and Mackinnon 1988).

Characteristics of the mother – for example, her emotional state – may have an effect on child outcomes (King and MacKinnon 1988;

Schachere 1990; Lancaster, Prior and Adler 1986). Mothers' actual working conditions may also influence parenting style (Rogers, Parcel and Menaghan 1991). Clark-Stewart (1988) declares that employment in the workforce is hard on mothers and that this stress may affect their relationships within the family, including those with their children.

There is also evidence that characteristics of the child affect outcomes, with boys being more affected by non-maternal care than girls (Hoffman 1983; Belsky 1988; Schachere 1990), although Clarke-Stewart (1988) points out that the evidence is not strong. Child temperament is also likely to affect outcomes (Tizard 1986; Clarke-Stewart 1988; Richters and Zahn-Waxler 1988). For example, Belsky (1988) found that insecurely attached infants of working mothers had more difficult temperaments. However, Clarke-Stewart (1988) argues that mothers' perceptions of infant temperament are more important than objective tests. Siblings, particularly older siblings, and position in the family may also have an influence on children's development and response to non-maternal care (Tizard 1986).

In discussing possible causes of the 'risk factor', which he claims is associated with long hours of non-maternal care in infancy, Belsky (1988) gives an example of some of the possible influences of the family system:

> Consideration of parental care in this discussion of risk factors draws attention to the family itself. Infants whose families are experiencing economic stress would seem to be at special risk not only because of the cost of quality care, but also because such stress can undermine parents' capacity to be emotionally available to and supportive of their offspring. Even when economic stress is not severe, parental care may be affected by a host of processes operating within the family (e.g. marital conflict) and beyond (e.g. job stress) that may influence the quality of care provided in the home and thereby the child's development. (p.262)

Family factors thus may place the child in a vulnerable position, or where circumstances are more positive they may be protective of the child (Belsky 1988). Consistent with Belsky's argument about the possible aetiology of the risk factors, Elder (1977), in his research on change and adaptation in families in the Depression of the 1930s, also pointed out that actions of individual family members affect not only the person immediately involved but also others in the family. He provides the following relevant example. During the Depression some

mothers who would not normally have been employed joined the workforce. Elder contended that despite the circumstances this was not always a positive experience and that the mother's employment had to be examined from the point of view of other family members, not just that of the mother. 'How does this activity bear upon the family's economic welfare, the harmony and stability of the marriage, child rearing, the psychological wellbeing of the mother herself? In a value climate that did not favor the employment of mothers, the benefits of earnings could be offset by greater marital turmoil and the aggravated emotional state of the unemployed husband.' (p.12)

Elder's comment raises issues which are still relevant, although probably not to the same extent they were in the 1930s. In most English-speaking countries there is still a considerable degree of ambivalence about the role of mothers. As discussed earlier, many people continue to believe that mothers should remain at home with young children, while others again believe that it is acceptable for mothers to be in the workforce and that it may even be good for their children. Furthermore, many Western countries, but particularly the English-speaking countries, have not yet adapted to the changed role of mothers and made suitable provision for the care of children of working parents.

According to McGurk et al (1993): 'Rather than day care being seen as a resource which parents can draw upon to support them in ensuring the wellbeing of their children, policy makers have tended to regard day care as a necessary evil, at best a second class substitute for parental, preferably maternal, child care. In consequence, parents who cannot themselves care directly as well as provide economically for their children are frequently stigmatised and caused to experience guilt and lowered self-esteem.' (p.17) Thus the cultural environment may also influence the effects of non-maternal care on children.

Cultural Influences on Child Care

As indicated in Chapter One, much, if not most, of the research into the effects of non-parental care on children has been carried out in the United States, a country in which there are many concerns about the standards of non-parental child care. Generalising findings from research in the United States may be inappropriate for other countries because of cultural differences in the provision of non-maternal child care, and because there may also be differences in child rearing practices (some of these differences are referred to in the chapter on the use of the Strange Situation technique) (Hennessy, Martin, Moss and Melhuish 1990; Lamb, Sternberg, Hwang and Broberg 1991).

Who Cares For America's Children, a report prepared by the Panel on Child Care Policy (Hayes et al 1990), which included many noted American child care researchers, states that: 'Of greatest concern is the large number of children who are presently cared for in settings that do not protect their health and safety and do not provide appropriate developmental stimulation. Poor quality care, more than any single type of program or arrangement, threatens children's development, especially children from poor and minority families.' (p.290)

Different countries have different approaches to child care provision, different standards of care, and different parental leave policies that affect the ways in which parents who are in the workforce care for their children. An examination of child care in a wide range of countries by Broberg and Hwang (1991) indicated that as a result of cultural, historical, and policy variations, countries also differ in their objectives for non-parental child care:

> In a country like France, there is traditionally a strong emphasis on intellectual training and academic achievement, and this emphasis is pronounced also with respect to the orientation of early child care. In Great Britain, the emphasis during the first three years (newborn to three years old) is essentially on child care, whereas there is a strong educational orientation during the next two years. In Sweden, there is an emphasis on developmental issues in general, and socio-emotional development in particular, and relatively little emphasis on specific educational goals during most of the preschool years. In Israel, the main objective is socialisation into Jewish-Israeli community of children from diverse cultural backgrounds. Finally, in developing countries, where primary health care for infants and toddlers is less developed, day care often plays a central role in promoting adequate physical health. (p.517)

The country which is the antithesis of the United States, and is the most well known for its comprehensive high quality child care and parental leave provision, is Sweden.

Ecology of Child Care Studies in Different Countries

Thus in taking an ecological approach to research on the effects of non-maternal or non-parental care on preschool children, including infants, the cultural context also plays a part, and the ecology of non-parental child care goes beyond characteristics of the family, the mother and the child. Although the greatest number of studies of the effects of substitute care on children have been carried out in the

United States, other Western countries have also undertaken research. Fein and Fox (1988) argue that: 'If care in the United States is predominantly poor or mediocre, this country may not be the best place to study the potential effects of early infant day care on later development' (p.232).

In this section, therefore, findings from recent, broader ecological research in the United States will be compared and contrasted with findings from research in other countries so that the importance of different cultural settings in the debate about the effects of substitute care are taken into account.

United States

As discussed earlier, the quality of child care in the United States is generally low and the regulations vary from State to State. A retrospective study provides some evidence that the quality of child care is associated with long-term child developmental outcomes. Vandell and Corasaniti (1990) examined the question of whether child care history, family, or child characteristics would best predict child outcomes for children in Grade 3. They studied 236 eight-year-old children from middle-class home backgrounds – the majority of whom were white, from a State with minimal child care standards – for possible differences in child outcomes associated with earlier child care histories. Assessments were made of the children's academic performance, conduct, emotional wellbeing, peer relationships, cooperation and compliance using teacher ratings, parent ratings, self ratings by the children, and classroom sociometric ratings. The child care histories of the children placed them in five groups ranging from maternal care only until kindergarten, part-time child care before twelve months, part-time care after twelve months, full-time child care (more than 30 hours a week) from under twelve months, and full-time care after twelve months of age. Vandell and Corasaniti (1990) concluded:

> For these children, extensive infant care was associated with negative ratings by parents, teachers and peers. Also, in contrast to part-time or exclusive maternal care, children with extensive infant care had poorer academic and conduct grades; and lower standardized scores. When considered along with child and family characteristics including child gender, birth order, family size, family marital status, parental education, and social class, child care history was the single best predictor (in a negative direction) of children's peer relationships, compliance,

> work habits, emotional health, sociometric status, and report card grades. (p.569)

Vandell and Corasaniti (1990) point to the poor quality of care and minimal standards in the State where this research was carried out as the reason for the negative relationship between extensive non-maternal care and the child outcomes; research over shorter periods of time has shown the effects of quality on child development; this study provides evidence of long-term effects.

These findings contrast with those of Andersson (1989), in which eight-year-old Swedish children with early day care experience generally rated higher than those who entered later or who had home care, and those of Smith et al (1991) in New Zealand, where no significant differences were found between different child care backgrounds by the time children were eight or nine years old (both studies are discussed later in this chapter).

Mothers in the Vandell and Corasaniti (1990) study did not have the choice of staying at home for the first six months after the birth of their children that is available in Sweden and some other countries. Mothers in countries where leave is available can return to work by choice rather than necessity, and Vandell and Corasaniti (1990) argue that this may also have had some bearing on the findings in this study. Research has indicated the importance of mothers feeling comfortable with their child care choices and this may also have some influence on these differences (Hock et al 1988 cited in Vandell and Corasaniti 1989).

In a longitudinal study of 80 middle class children which examined the influence of age of child care entry, the quality of care, and family characteristics on the social adjustment of children at preschool and kindergarten, Howes (1990) found that family socialisation best predicted child outcomes for those enrolled after the first twelve months and teacher socialisation best predicted outcomes in children enrolled before twelve months. However, it was children enrolled in low quality care before they were twelve months of age who had the most difficult relationships with peers, were low in task orientation, and were more distractible. However, it is important to note that in the 29 families observed prior to child care entry, those who chose low quality rather than high quality care had more complicated lives and less appropriate parenting practices. Howes (1990) concludes that teachers play a very important part in the lives of children who enter day care under twelve months of age.

In a study of 119 children (29 of whom were black) from kindergarten classes in four schools, the effects of community-based day care experience on the social–emotional development of kindergarten children (first year at school) from varied racial, and socioeconomic backgrounds was examined (Poteat et al 1992). Children who had been in day care had more negative teacher ratings of behaviour in kindergarten than those who had not. However, when demographic background variables were taken into account in analysis the relationship was no longer significant. Poteat et al (1992) concluded that the effects of day care must be assessed within the context of the child's family circumstances.

A recent source of data in the United States for those interested in the effects of different contexts of non-maternal care on child development has been a subset of cases from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY). This is a survey of a nationally representative sample of 12 686 young people who were aged from 14–21 years in January 1979, when they were first interviewed, and who have been interviewed annually since then (Belsky and Eggebeen 1991a; Mott 1991).

By 1986, when respondents were 21–28 years of age, 2918 of the women in the sample who had borne children were given supplementary questionnaires about mother and child health, family relationships, the home environment, the child's behaviour and child care history. Assessments of cognitive, social, emotional and physical development were carried out on 4971 children of these women through maternal report, direct observation and standardised tests. These data were integrated with data collected on their mothers over the years to create a mother–child data set. However, in using these data for analysis in regard to the effect of mother's employment on child outcomes, researchers have addressed somewhat different questions and therefore have selected children of disparate ages, or particular subgroups, and have selected different outcome measures.

Probably because of the controversial nature of Belsky's previous research and reviews, the analysis of the NLSY data which has received the most attention is that of Belsky and Eggebeen (1991). These researchers sampled all white and black children aged four to six years of age from the NLSY mother and child data set – 1248 children. The aim of their analysis was to test Belsky's conclusions from his earlier research (Belsky 1988;1990) that there are developmental risks associated with extensive non-parental care in the first year of life, and also to ascertain whether the effects of early and

extensive maternal employment were moderated by child temperament and/or socio-economic status. Although the NLSY data set over-represents children born to poorer, less educated, younger and minority mothers, Belsky and Eggebeen argue that these children are not typical of the whole sample. Nevertheless, they weighted to correct for the over-representation of minority children, although in keeping with standard statistical procedure, they did not apply the sample weights in multi-variate analysis.

Belsky and Eggebeen (1991) grouped data for analysis based on maternal employment data only because the child care information appeared incomplete. They assumed that where mothers are in full-time employment it is associated with extensive non-maternal care. There were four groups: children whose mothers were not employed in the first three years, children whose mothers were not employed in the first year but were employed full-time for the second and third years, children whose mothers were employed full-time over the first three years, and a group of all other children. Belsky and Eggebeen found some, but limited, support for Belsky's earlier conclusion that extensive maternal employment is a risk factor in the social–emotional development of children. They found that the effects of early and extensive maternal employment in the first two years was associated with increased non-compliance in children aged four to six, and that this effect was not moderated by gender, race or social class.

Belsky and Eggebeen's (1991) analysis has been criticised on a number of grounds by several other well-known researchers in this field. A major criticism is that the findings cannot be generalised broadly because of the limitations of both the sample and the measure used – the sample is atypical of this age cohort, as it represents the youngest and most disadvantaged mothers, and is made even less representative because almost half the eligible mothers did not meet the employment criteria for inclusion in the analysis (McCartney 1991; Scarr 1991; Vandell 1991). By excluding mothers with employment histories which did not fit their groupings, Belsky and Eggebeen eliminated approximately 55 per cent of children; mothers of the excluded children had higher intellectual ability and the children were less shy (McCartney and Rosenthal 1991). Furthermore, as there is no information on the actual amount or quality of substitute care received, the study is not about child care at all, rather it is about the effects of maternal employment (McCartney and Rosenthall 1991; Scarr 1991; Vandell 1991). Vandell (1991) also argues that there was inappropriate use of statistical techniques:

In her critique of Belsky and Eggebeen's analysis Vandell (1991) concludes:

> It is clear that researchers must be very cautious in making general, all-encompassing statements. Results appear to vary as a function of characteristics of both family environment and the child care/employment environments. For those infants whose family environments are high in quality but who experience poor quality alternative care, early and extensive maternal employment may lead to problematic functioning. For other infants, such as those with adolescent mothers, early maternal employment may result in better child functioning. For these infants, staying at home with their mothers may not be advantageous, especially if it consigns the family to poverty. To the extent that Belsky and Eggebeen fail to acknowledge these delimiting factors, others may seek to draw simplistic conclusions about the effects of early employment that poorly serve parents, policy makers, and researchers. (p.1102)

Using data from the same study, McCartney and Rosenthal (1991) found that the link between maternal employment and child adjustment was weak, and that maternal employment was significant only when included in a larger set of predictor variables. They also suggested that the measure used in this study may not be a sensitive indicator of adjustment and that the results of secondary data analysis such as that of Belsky and Eggebeen (1991) and their own should be treated as exploratory only.

There were other findings of users of the NLSY (1988). For four-year-old children there was a significant effect of mother's employment in the first year of life on cognitive development (as measured by the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, PPVT), but only for boys, and only for children from higher income families (Desai et al 1988). In examining the association between various child care contexts in the first year of life and outcomes for children at age one to four, Mott (1991) assessed the extent to which any links were mediated by the health and gender. He found that infant boys with health problems gained socio-emotionally through more time with mother, whereas healthy infant girls had some cognitive advantage in extensive substitute care during infancy. However, Mott also concluded that the average young child was not affected either positively or negatively, intellectually or socio-emotionally, by the form of child care arrangement in the first twelve months.

Using a sub-sample from the NLSY of 189 Grade 2 children (median age seven years nine months) from low-income families, Vandell and Ramana (1992) found that even after controlling for selection factors – such as the higher mental aptitude and higher education of employed mothers in low- income families – and current family environment, that children's achievement in maths was positively predicted by early maternal employment (first three years); reading achievement was positively associated with recent employment (last three years). However, they caution against generalising these results to children of the middle class or well off.

Sweden

The Swedish system of community-based provision of child care and parental leave for the care of children is synonymous with quality and seen by many as the ideal situation for working parents and their children. Sweden has an integrated system of parental leave, including parental leave on 90 per cent of the parent's normal salary, now available for the first 18 months (until recently it could be taken full-time until the child was nine months old and part-time until 18 months). Other provisions include leave to care for sick children and the capacity to reduce the work day to six hours while retaining the right to return to full-time employment with two months notice, and high quality child care both centre-based and family day care, provided by the State in the local neighbourhood.

As a result of these provisions, most Swedish infants are cared for by their parents until they are at least nine months old, and few are in child care outside the home. Underpinning this system is the expectation that men and women will equally participate in the workforce, child rearing, and domestic life (Broberg 1988; Nasmen and Falkenberg 1989; Galinsky 1989; Ochiltree 1991). Andersson (1989) points out that 85 per cent of Swedish mothers of preschool children (children start school at age seven) are in the workforce, an even higher percentage than in the United States. However, as can be seen, the conditions governing the care of the children of employed parents in the two countries are very different.

Several studies of the effects of non-parental care on children have been carried out in the context of the high quality Swedish system. The first of these is a longitudinal study of 128 families with a child between the age of three and four, at the time of the first collection of data, living in eight neighbourhoods representing low and middle socio-economic areas in Sweden's two largest cities. When the children were eight years of age, 119 families (92 per cent) remained

in the study, and when they were 13 years of age 110 families (86 per cent) remained (Andersson 1989). At the time this study commenced, parents could stay at home for six or seven months on paid leave, thus those who return to work during their infant's first year usually do so by choice rather than necessity as so often occurs in countries such as the United States.

This Swedish study aimed at investigating the long-term effects of day care on children's cognitive, social and personal development and taking into account the various types of care and age at entry into day care. Family background was also taken into account using indicators of occupational status, family type (one or two parents), mother's education and change in family type.

Collection of data about child care in the first three or four years of the children's life was retrospective. About one-third of the children were placed in day care outside the home in their first year and the proportion in non-maternal care increased up to the age of four and plateaued at around 70 per cent of the sample. Centre-based care was the most favoured form of alternative care from the start, and was also the most stable. Family day care mothers became less popular as children got older, and half the children who started in this form of care later transferred to centre care. Although the exact age that children entered child care is not known, it is not likely to have occurred before the children were six months of age because of the parental leave conditions applying at the time. Day care in this study referred to full-time or close to full-time care of at least five to six hours per day.

Children's cognitive competence was measured at age eight; two verbal and two non-verbal tests were used, and teachers were asked to rate children's school performance for reading, writing and arithmetic, general subjects, music and physical education. Teachers were also asked to rate children's social competence and their personality. Andersson (1989) found that:

> Children entering day care at an early age performed significantly better on cognitive tests and received more positive ratings from their teachers in terms of school achievement and social–personal attributes than children entering day care at later ages and those in home care. Type of day care also played some role, especially for cognitive development, favoring early center care, but the effects are less clear and less extensive. Finally, there were differential effects

> of center care for boys and girls, with home-reared and family-day-care boys much less willing to stick to their own opinion and to hold their own than girls from those settings, while boys in center care were more assertive than girls in center care, but not significantly so. (p.864)

These children were re-tested at age 13, again using teacher ratings of children's cognitive and social–emotional competence. At 13 years of age the positive ratings of children entering day care as infants under twelve months remained. Andersson (1990) reports: 'They performed better in all school subjects and were rated as more creative and socially confident, more popular, more open, and with better verbal facility, but somewhat less quiet than other children' (p.1). Andersson made it quite clear that in no instances were there any indications of adverse effects of early entry into non-parental care. He concludes that: 'Given the ecological facts [of Sweden's high quality child care and parental leave system], this study indicates that high quality care coupled with a generous parental leave system does not have to be detrimental, it can in fact be the opposite – that is, it can give children and their parents the opportunity of extra stimulation of meeting other people and other stimulating environments as a complement to the home.' (p.8)

A second study of 140 first born Swedish children, the Gothenburg Childcare Project, which focused on the effects of out of home care on the development of social competence, was also longitudinal but over a shorter time period (Lamb et al 1988; Hwang et al 1991). The parents were first contacted when the children were on average 16 months of age, and only parents who had formally requested places in centre-based care were selected; not all were successful in obtaining places thus subsequently forming the three groups: home care, centre care and family day care.

The children were observed interacting with familiar peers and adults in order to assess their social characteristics and social style before they entered out-of-home care. The parents were interviewed and demographic, home and family information collected. Additional assessments of the children, their families and their out-of-home care facilities were carried out three, twelve and 24 months after the initial assessments.

Analysis of these data indicated that: 'In and of itself, knowledge of the type of care received by children from the middle of the second year of their lives is of little value in predicting subsequent social

competence. Such outcomes can be better understood when we know something about the quality of care received at home, the child's gender, the supportiveness of the family's social network, and prior measures of the child's social competence' (Lamb et al 1988, p.399). Results suggest that, overall, children in the three child care groups were more similar than different. Two years after commencing out-of-home care, quality of care received in the home was the most important factor but the quality of alternative care also had some smaller but significant effects on children's social competence (Sternberg et al 1990).

United Kingdom

The situation regarding child care in the United Kingdom is very different from that which exists in Sweden and different again from the United States. Unlike Sweden, there is no expectation that men and women will participate equally in the workforce, child rearing and domestic life, rather, an ideology exists about the role of mothers that makes life very difficult for mothers who work before their children start school (Moss 1991). Although more women have entered the workforce over the last decade, the government has regarded child care as the responsibility of individual families.

Publicly provided services are the responsibility of local government and there is considerable variation in availability of places in day nurseries (child care centres), but in most areas the criteria for entry to these day nurseries are restrictive and places are largely for disadvantaged children who are at 'risk'. Some earlier studies in Britain had disclosed a high level of problem behaviours in children in some day nurseries; however, these were related to the admission priorities for the children of disturbed or disadvantaged families making these nurseries a 'breeding ground' for problem behaviours (Melhuish 1991). Only recently has there been any growth in privately provided child care and initiatives to provide work-related child care places (Penn 1991 cited in Ochiltree 1991). Childminders (family day care) are the most common form of care available and most families use informal care, usually by relatives (Cohen 1988; Moss and Melhuish 1991; Ochiltree 1991).

It is in this context that the largest and most recent study of day care in Britain, the longitudinal Thomas Coram Research Unit Day Care Study, was undertaken. This is a study of 225 two-parent families with a first child, which began in 1982 and was completed in 1990 (Melhuish 1991). In most families the mother returned to full-time

work after maternity leave and the child entered non-parental care before the age of nine months. The families comprised four groups according to the type of care used: childminders, nurseries or relatives, and a group where the mothers did not return to the workforce and cared for their children themselves. There is limited nursery provision in London and working parents do not fit the criteria for local authority nurseries which take 'priority' children from disadvantaged homes, therefore most of the nurseries used by families in the study were attached to the workplace, although these are not common in Britain.

Mothers and children were interviewed and assessed respectively when the children were 5, 18, 36 and 72 months old, and mothers were seen alone eleven months after birth. Caregivers were also visited when the child was 18 and 36 months of age. Nearly half the children in child care had at least one change of arrangement, but changes were least for those children in centre-based care, and greatest for those in the care of childminders or relatives.

The study examined the social–emotional, linguistic and cognitive development of these children. At age three there was no evidence of negative effects of early full-time non-parental child care. At age six, in assessing Belsky's claim of 'risk factors', a broad range of child behaviours were examined including aggression, anxiety, self-esteem, leadership, and prosocial behaviour (Hennessy et al 1990). Data were collected from several perspectives – mothers, teachers, the researchers and the children themselves. There was no evidence that the behaviour of children who had been in child care as infants was more aggressive, more anxious and dependent, or that they had poor self-esteem. Rather, the data suggested that the best predictors of child social outcomes are the sex of the child, with boys being more aggressive than girls, and the education and occupations of the parents.

New Zealand

In general, the quality of child care in New Zealand is higher than that in the United States, and during the 1980s the Labor government developed an integrated approach to early childhood services. Until recently, New Zealand also had a universal approach to health and human services for mothers and young children and was concerned with social justice. Smith et al (1991) conducted a study to find if there was any evidence of the long-term influence of the type of early childhood centre attended and the social behaviour of children in primary school at the age of eight or nine years.

The social behaviour of each child was observed in the classroom and playground, and teachers rated the child's social behaviour with adults and peers, their level of physical and verbal aggression, and their academic progress. There were few significant differences between the groups on observations or ratings of social behaviour. Kindergarten children had more positive interactions with peers than child care children, and higher ratings of academic progress than child care children; these differences, however, became insignificant when analysis controlled for the effects of socio-economic status and parents' education. Overall, no strong evidence of either a negative or positive affect of early child care was found. The context of reasonable quality of care in most settings in New Zealand is given as the main reason for lack of effects. According to Smith et al (1991):

> The lack of an early childhood centre effect in this study is due to the absence of strong differences in the quality of the care/education received at home, in kindergartens and in child care centres by the children in this study. All the children experienced some form of preschool, but kindergarten children usually started at three or four compared to the earlier start at age one or two of the child care children. There is also evidence that there are many similarities between the nature of the early childhood education and care provided in kindergarten and child care. Also, parental care is likely to be of relatively high quality in a New Zealand setting. It is therefore probable that the quality of the caring/educating environment was not very different whether the children were at kindergarten or a child care centre. (The study was, however, carried out before the increased resourcing of early childhood services). (p.11)

Canada

Child care in Canada is characterised by great variation between the provinces in the provision of child care, in the proportion of places in family day care compared with centre-based care, and in the proportions of places in commercial centres compared with those which are non-profit. Demand for places outstrips supply and many parents use unlicensed care. Low- income parents are given tax credits to assist with the cost of child care and parents can deduct a certain amount of their child care costs off their tax (Goelman 1992).

Within this context, Goelman and Pence (1987a, 1987b) studied the language development of Canadian children in licensed centre care, licensed family day care and unlicensed family day care. In the first

study they compared children from families with low resources with those from families with high resources; level of resources was based on family type, level of parental education, occupation and income (Goelman and Pence 1987a). It was found that children from families with low resources tended to be enrolled in low quality family day care with less educated caregivers. This is similar to the United States where there is a trend for children of low-income and stressed families to be enrolled in day care of lower quality (Goelman and Pence 1987; Kontos and Fiene 1987).

The sample in the Victoria Day Care Research Project consisted of 105 parent–child and caregiver triads in Canada and the study was based on an examination of structure and process variables in both the home and day care setting (Goelmen and Pence 1987b). The mean age for the children ranged from 51 months for those in centre-based care, to 39 months for children in licensed day care and 40 months for those in unlicensed family day care. The study was carried out over two years, from 1983 to 1985. The children were all first born and/or only children and were in care for approximately 30 hours per week while their mothers worked, studied or looked for work. No significant differences were found between the groups on background variables such as level of parental education, income, and ages children entered non-parental care.

Interviews, and observations in both the home and child care setting were employed, and the children's language was assessed on a number of measures. Goelman and Pence (1987b) found that: 'No one single variable (that is, type of care, structure, daily experiences, family background) sufficiently explained children's performance on measures of receptive and expressive language development. Rather, the data strongly suggested a complex interaction of child care structure and process variables within the contexts of family resources and the factors involved in the selection of child care settings by individual families' (p.9). The quality of family day care was much more variable than that in centres, and was more predictive of children's language development than quality in centres; the education of carers, which was higher in centres, was also predictive of children's language development. Children with the lowest mean scores on the outcome measures were those in unlicensed family day care.

Australia

The AIFS Early Childhood Study is a retrospective study of 728 children in their first year of school. This study examines the

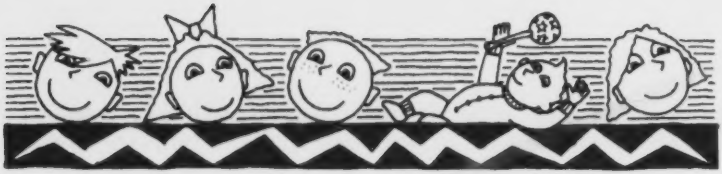
relationship between children's social–emotional and cognitive outcomes and child care history. For further information on this study see the forthcoming AIFS Early Childhood series publication, *The Early Childhood Study: The Effects of Different Contexts of Child Care* (Ochiltree).

Conclusions

Research from countries other than the United States found no evidence that non-maternal child care was harmful to children who entered as infants (Andersson 1989, 1990; Hennessy et al 1990), or in the preschool years (Smith et al 1991), and that it can have positive outcomes (Andersson 1989, 1990). There was evidence that qualities of the home environment and the child care environment interact to affect child outcomes (Sternberg et al 1990; Hennessy et al 1990; Goelman and Pence 1987) and that the gender of the child may also be related to outcomes (Andersson 1989; Hennessy et al 1990; Sternberg et al 1990).

The findings from the United States are more mixed. Vandell and Corasaniti (1990) found that in the context of poor State child care regulations child care history was the best predictor of child outcomes – in a negative direction. Findings from the National Longitudinal Study of Youth subsample, with a generally atypical and, on the whole, disadvantaged sample of mothers and children, based on mother's employment information rather than child care information, are mixed but show little that is negative. However, it is suggested that these findings should be considered exploratory only and are not generalisable to the population. The Goelman and Pence (1987) study in Canada also found that child care choice is linked to family resources as has been found in the United States, and this is likely to be due to policies governing the provision of child care in the province in which the study was carried out.

Thus there is evidence that the cultural setting in which studies are carried out play a significant part in the ecology of child care. However, with the exception of the United States, where there is evidence that low quality child care has long-term negative effects, there is no evidence that child care has negative affects on child social–emotional outcomes, and there is some evidence that high quality child care can have positive affects on cognitive outcomes.



5

Early Intervention and Head Start Programs

In the United States, early intervention for preschoolers, usually in the form of Head Start programs, has been a major movement running parallel with child care. So while not directly concerned with child care, this chapter examines the related area of educational input and support for low-income and minority group children in the preschool years. These programs have had many evaluations of their effectiveness and provide information which complements research on the effects of non-parental child care.

Although there have been early intervention projects in countries other than the United States which have attempted to support children in disadvantaged families and prepare them for school, for example, the Mount Druitt Early Childhood project in Sydney (Braithwaite and Alexander 1983), no other country has had such an extensive program as Head Start.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that Head Start and other early intervention projects discussed in this chapter were designed to cope with the conditions experienced by children from poor and minority families in the United States. Availability of services for young children in the United States is very different from Australia, not only in regard to child care but also in respect of health services. There is no universally available free child and family health service to support maternal and child health such as exists in Australia.

The system in the United States is generally 'user pays', and there is much greater use of paediatricians in private practice for the support of mothers, babies and older children. The cost of private health insurance is often paid by the employer as a benefit of employment, and for some poor families Medicaid gives some cover. However,

many children and pregnant women have no coverage; these are typically from families where parents work in low wage jobs (National Commission on Children 1991). In 1986 Medicaid covered less than 50 per cent of all children in poverty under the age of 13 (Chafel 1990) and one third of children below the poverty line. One in four infants is born to a mother who has not received pre-natal care, and infant mortality in the United States is higher than in 21 other industrialised countries including Japan, Sweden, Canada and Australia; black babies are twice as likely to die as white (National Commission on Children 1991). There is little income support within the United States for the poor, for the single-parent family and for the unemployed.

It is within this context that Head Start programs operate, and health and support for parents and children have been an important component of most programs.

Head Start and other early intervention programs, which began in the 1960s, were targeted at a specific group in the population – the children of poor and minority families – and were not intended to be an alternative to mother care. Head Start has survived for almost three decades, through changes of government and cuts in other education and social service programs (Hayes et al 1990). One of the major reasons for this continuity is that Head Start is a demonstration program available to only 20 per cent of eligible children and is not an entitlement for all. Children in the program are approximately 42 per cent black, 20 per cent Hispanic, 4 per cent native Americans, and 34 per cent white (Hayes et al 1990); these proportions mirror the profile of poverty found in these population groups.

Parents, but particularly mothers, were encouraged to take part in most Head Start programs and to learn parenting skills. Some trained to be aides and workers in the programs (Haskins 1989). In contrast to child care, these programs were viewed positively as they aimed at improving health, and enhancing intellectual and social development. Hayes et al (1990) state:

> The program was not established as a child care service, and the fact that it operates as a part-day program at most sites limits its ability to meet the child care needs of many low-income working parents or the developmental needs of many children who would benefit from a structured full-day program. Currently, about 20 per cent of local Head Start programs operate full day in order to combine high quality compensatory

1001

> education, social, medical, and nutrition services, as well as parent education, with more traditional child care services and schedules. Yet program officials are quick to distinguish Head Start from child care programs, and there is some disagreement within and outside federal government about whether to include Head Start funding in a tally of federal expenditures for child care. (p.67)

There was no suggestion that Head Start programs could harm children as was feared when the use of non-maternal child care increased, rather there was optimism about the possibility of improved educational opportunities (Lamb et al 1992). Head Start has undergone numerous evaluations, not always positive, and these provide useful information about the effectiveness of this form of support for children from low-income and minority groups. These evaluations also provide additional information on the assessment of the outcome effects of programs for preschool children.

There is a recent thrust in the United States to extend Head Start more generally into child care, and child care has been referred to as Head Start's 'new frontier' (Collins 1993). Head Start commenced before child care became a priority for many families; however, because of the general increase in employed mothers and government policy which encourages poor families to become economically self-sufficient, child care is now an issue for the Head Start population. According to Collins (1993): 'The preponderance of part-day or double-sessions services and the lack of full-day child care are universally cited as the number one barrier to Head Start involvement in family support programs including JOBS [education and training scheme]' (p.72).

Background to Early Intervention

In the United States, the 1960s was a period of growing interest in and support for early intervention in the education of children from poor families. It was known that children of poor and minority families had lower scores on Intelligence or IQ tests than children from middle-class and advantaged families. Although there has since been much questioning of what IQ tests actually measure, and there is evidence that middle-class children are better prepared and motivated to cope with the content of IQ tests, at the time 'There was a greater acceptance of the validity and reliability of IQ tests (Berndt 1992; Sargent 1994).

There were several major influences on the early intervention

movement in the United States but not the least of these was the inspiration of the civil rights movement where there was broad support among blacks and whites for racial and economic equality, and hope and action for positive change in society. A more specific influence was J.McV. Hunt's book *Intelligence and Experience*, published in 1961, (cited in Condry 1983) which pointed out the importance of the environment in the development of intelligence. In reaction to the previous belief that intelligence was genetically fixed, he argued that intelligence was essentially a product of the environment and that IQ scores could be raised by as much as 50 to 70 points by intervention in the environmental experiences of children (Condry 1983; Zigler 1991).

Another influence on the notion of early intervention was Benjamin Bloom's book *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics*, published in 1964, which argued that humans are most receptive to environmental effects at periods of rapid growth (Condry 1983; Zigler 1991). Early childhood, as a period of rapid growth and development, was therefore seen as the most advantageous time to intervene to overcome the IQ differences in children of the poor and minority groups, and thus to improve their educational opportunities on entry into the school system.

Zigler (1991) argues that at the time, what later proved to be a naive belief developed in the malleability of intelligence, and the degree to which it could be increased. The idea of raising IQ through intervention in the environment of disadvantaged children not only influenced researchers, educators, and other professionals, but also caught the imagination of journalists and was taken up by the popular press (Zigler 1991; Vinovskis 1993).

The popular explanation for the lower IQ of poor and minority children was that there was a cultural deficit in the environment (Condry 1983; Zigler 1991). The wide acceptance of the cultural deficit model led to attempts to improve outcomes for these children by providing them with the opportunities to experience and learn the skills of middle-class children. Later, it was argued that children from low-income families and minority groups had cultures and skills different from, rather than inferior to, those of children in middle-class families and that their difficulties arose from differences in the situations; in this perspective it was schools and institutions as agents of society which needed to change. Nevertheless, it was belief in the 'cultural deficit model' that motivated intervention to alleviate the disadvantage of children from low-income families and minority groups in the early 1960s (Condry 1983).

102

Project Head Start

A number of non-Head Start preschool intervention programs had commenced in the early 1960s. According to Condry (1983):

> These programs shared the basic assumption that environmental factors played an important role in the cognitive and socio-emotional development of the child and that early intervention in the life of the low-income child could have significant, positive, long-term effects. The particular type of intervention was not a settled issue (nor were the expected long-term effects). There were a sufficient number of different views of learning and development to support a great variety of curricula. The newness of the field encouraged innovation, as did the availability of financial support from government and private sources. (p.12)

Project Head Start, modelled on these early preschool intervention programs, commenced in 1965. This project was an initiative of President Lyndon Johnson's 'War on Poverty'. Head Start was a change of direction for the United States government which had previously considered children to be a family responsibility. The evidence that intelligence was not fixed, as had been thought, and developmental theories that argued that early childhood was a key time for improving intelligence and overcoming environmental deficits, had challenged the belief that children were entirely the responsibility of the family. It is interesting to note that the government was intervening only with the children of the poor and minority groups, the children of the middle and upper classes remained the responsibility of the family (Condry 1983).

A planning committee for the proposed Project Head Start was set up to make recommendations about programs which could best increase the achievement of children of the poor. A broad 'whole child' approach, rather than a narrow focus on learning was recommended. It consisted of: education and encouragement of language skills, self-reliance and self-esteem; a health program to provide medical and dental examinations and immunisation; a program of parental involvement as teacher aides, and classes for parents on a range of subjects including child rearing and English language; a nutrition program providing meals and snacks for children and nutrition information for parents; and access to social and psychological services through referrals (Condry 1983).

193

Zigler (1991) argues that, despite the various influences of the time, Head Start itself was not based on the notion of cultural deficit nor the naive notion of merely increasing IQ. However, other writers have indicated that although the emphasis of Head Start was placed on the whole child, and most programs extended beyond the purely cognitive, other people, sometimes the parents who were themselves involved, viewed it from the cultural deficit perspective (Slaughter 1982). There was a widespread belief at the time that children could be 'inoculated' against the negative effects of poverty and/or minority group status by a short intervention before starting school (Slaughter 1982; Zigler 1991).

Slaughter (1982) points out that the original view of Congress may not have been the same as those involved in designing Head Start:

> Congress envisioned Head Start as a means of ensuring that children of low-income families would obtain the educational prerequisites necessary to take full advantage of formal, traditional schooling . . . Changing the children who would be the adults in these families and communities was its primary objective. The first step in this process would be to maximise the likelihood that these children would have equal educational opportunities. The children were to become educable. That is the probability of their success or failure in traditional schools should be no different from the probabilities established for children from more affluent backgrounds. Success in school would increase the probability of success as a citizen after the 13 years of formal education typically guaranteed to all American children. (p.3)

The initial Head Start program was to be an eight-week summer program for 100,000 children. Responses were overwhelming, and three months after President Johnson's announcement of the project in February 1965, half a million children were enrolled in over 13,000 centres. Although quality varied, there was great enthusiasm for Project Head Start, and in late 1965 President Johnson announced that year-round centres for three- and four-year-olds would be opened (Condry 1983).

Evaluations of Head Start

It was recognised early on that Head Start programs must be evaluated to see if expectations of improved achievement were being met. A number of evaluations were carried out – but all with methodological

deficiencies. Most of the studies showed immediate effects of the interventions but that the rate of gain decreased over time. Condry (1983) says: 'The controls had caught up with the preschool children. For both groups, the final levels suggested poor academic performance – the level of performance predictable from the low socio-economic status of the families' (p.20). However, a study of the impact of Head Start on the community found that compared with non-Head Start communities there was improved service delivery (for example, new services for preschool children).

The most famous of the Head Start evaluations is the 1969 Westinghouse Study (cited in Condry 1983). This study used a post-test design and a comparison group of non-Head Start children matched for age and sex compared on standardised tests, one, two and three years after starting school. Condry (1983) states:

> Children who had attended summer-only programs displayed no measurable advantage over comparison children in any area of academic testing. On only two of the cognitive measures did full-year Head Start children score higher than comparison children; these were on the Metropolitan Readiness Tests (administered in first grade) and on two subtests of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA). Tests of affective development, which tend to have inadequate psychometric qualities, showed Head Start children did not score higher than comparison children at any of the three grade levels. (p.21)

However, parents expressed strong approval of the program and its effects on children, and there were also some positive effects for black children who scored better than their matched controls.

Nevertheless, the attention of the nation was captured by what was seen as the failure of Head Start: that children did not sustain IQ gains after commencing school. It was not realised at the time, nor acknowledged until much later, that the apparent IQ gains were due to motivation rather than to changes in cognitive ability (Raver and Zigler 1991).

The design of the Westinghouse study was much criticised when first released and over the years since (Condry 1983; Cicerelli 1984; Brown 1985). The control group was of higher socio-economic status than the Head Start group and this had to be adjusted statistically. The dependent variables did not cover all objectives of the Head Start program, for example health, nutrition, parent involvement and the

social competencies of the children. Nevertheless, as a result of a recommendation of this report, summer programs were phased out and the emphasis changed to full-year programs (Condry 1983; Brown 1985). The expansion of Head Start was curbed, and for a time after the Westinghouse report the future of Head Start was shaky, staff morale was low, and the earlier optimism was dashed (Brown 1985).

In the early 1970s the status of Head Start changed to experimental, consistent with the curbing of the program, and aimed at serving only a small proportion of eligible children. Ed Zigler, the first director of the newly created Office of Child Development, which managed Head Start, initiated several innovative programs including Home Start which trained parents to work with their children in the home, and the Child Development Associate Program which trained workers in the Head Start programs (Condry 1983; Brown 1985). Social competence, which included intellectual functioning but was much broader, was adopted as the major goal of Head Start (Raver and Zigler 1991). Cultural bias in testing was also acknowledged as a problem.

Research-Based Early Intervention Programs

Meanwhile evaluation techniques were improving, and some small projects were showing positive results of intervention (Brown 1985). Interest had also developed in a number of the early intervention programs that had started in the 1960s and which had been developed specifically as research projects with the aim of answering particular research questions. The designers of these research-based programs, who were interested in the question of whether early education programs had measurable effects on children from low-income families, had specified and tested hypotheses, collected baseline data, and selected appropriate outcome measures. Amongst these programs were a number of longitudinal studies which were of particular interest.

These research-based intervention projects had used a range of outcome measures, including measures of social and emotional development. However, cognitive development, where measurement was easier, rather than social and emotional development where measurement was difficult, became a major focus (Condry 1983). Furthermore, measures of cognitive development, particularly IQ which correlates with school performance, were seen as relevant considering the original concern with intelligence underpinning these programs. The longitudinal research programs had also used actual

106

achievement test scores and did not depend on IQ scores only to measure cognitive effects. Nevertheless, IQ scores received more attention from the broader community than achievement scores and school grades.

Most of the longitudinal research projects were completed by the mid-1970s, although some continued data collection. According to Bronfenbrenner (1974 cited in Condry 1983):

> In general, the early results of these studies showed significant IQ gains during the program; at the time of program completion, participating children displayed higher IQs than did children who served as controls. A variety of measures also evidenced positive effects on children's social, motivational, and emotional behaviour. The IQ differences, however, tended to decrease after program completion. Later testing, performed when children were in the second to fifth grades (which was generally several years after program completion) tended to show some positive IQ and reading achievement differences between treatment and control children. The apparent fading of the sizeable cognitive gains of the preschool participants was a disappointment to those who believed that relatively short-term preschool intervention experiences would have substantial and lasting effects on intellectual competence. (p.14)

Consortium for Longitudinal Studies

These longitudinal research projects were of renewed importance when it was acknowledged that the early evaluations of Head Start were premature, that the children involved were too young for judgements on more subtle and long-term effects, and that the samples had often been too small. In the mid-1970s, it was therefore proposed that follow-up data should be collected on all children who had participated in these research-based experimental longitudinal early intervention programs of the 1960s. It was proposed that these programs should be part of a consortium which aimed at providing a general assessment of the long-term effectiveness of early education by an analysis of data from all programs involved (Condry 1983).

Programs in the Consortium, with one or two exceptions, were not Head Start programs and were more closely supervised and documented than Head Start. The principal investigators in these programs were contacted, and in 1975 the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies was set up. Almost all the large-scale preschool

intervention studies conducted in the United States in the 1960s were included in the Consortium; only one of the twelve research groups approached refused to participate. Included in the Consortium were the Perry Preschool Program (Schweinhart and Weikart 1983), the Philadelphia Study (Beller 1983) and many others. As all projects involved were research or demonstration projects, control or comparison groups were nearly always available, thus overcoming some of the objections to the earlier Head Start evaluations (Condry 1983).

The advantage of the Consortium approach was that the sample size was substantial and basic data on the children and families had been collected before, during and after the programs. Samples at each of the sites were in excess of 100. In 1975, the participants ranged in age between eight and eighteen years, and assessment was thus able to be more comprehensive, and ecological measures, such as assignment to special education, could be used.

The Consortium initially had access to three waves of data: Wave 1 pre-program data collected when the children were aged three months to five years before the program began; Wave 2 follow-up post-program data collected independently for the projects before 1976, when the children were aged between five and ten years of age; Wave 3 consisted of Consortium follow-up collaborative data from 1976/77 when the children were 10 to 19 years of age. A fourth wave of collaborative data was collected by the Consortium in 1980 when the children were aged from 14 to 21 years (Royce, Darlington and Murray 1983). The original samples were generally black (92 per cent) and from low-income families.

The disadvantages of the pooled analyses were that effects which occurred only in one or two projects could be lost as analyses were limited to data which was common across projects. However, according to Condry (1983): from this pooled analysis 'lasting effects of preschool education have been demonstrated. These effects were not simply on IQs but also on actual school performance and events. The most significant of these positive effects is that children who attended a preschool program, compared with similar children who did not, were less likely to have been assigned to special education classes and less likely to have failed a grade during their school careers.' (p.27)

Haskins (1989) argues that the most powerful aspect of the Consortium study is the very long-term follow-up, particularly those

projects which involved respondents who had graduated from high school. These longer-term evaluations have supported earlier findings. In those projects where there were children in the labour market it was found that preschool programs were related indirectly through later schooling to better labour market achievement; children with better results in later school careers, not just in primary school, did better in the labour market (Royce et al 1983): 'When evaluated over a 15-year period, early education had significant effects in five areas: developed abilities in early to middle childhood, school competence in middle childhood and adolescence, attitudes toward achievement in adolescence, educational attainment in late adolescence, and occupational attitudes in early adulthood. For the sixth outcome area, occupational attainment in early adulthood, indirect preschool effects were found.' (p.450)

The High/Scope Perry Preschool program, one of the projects which took part in the Consortium is worthy of special comment, as strong claims are made on the basis of this study for the long-term effectiveness of quality preschool interventions (Brown 1985; Gramlich 1986). This project assigned 58 low IQ black children from low-income families to a preschool enrichment program between 1962 and 1967 and collected data on these children and the same number of matched low IQ black control children until 25 years after attendance (Barnett 1993). The children were either three or four years old when they entered the program and attended a daily half-day session over the academic year for either one or two years; there was one home visit each week. At the start of the program there were no statistical differences in the background variables between the control group and the program group.

This project found the benefits of early intervention extended into adulthood. During their schooling, the program children were less likely to be placed in remedial programs, they failed fewer grades, and were more likely to graduate from high school (Gramlich 1986; Barnett 1993). The children in the program not only had improved school success but were less likely to be involved in delinquency, teenage pregnancy and had improved likelihood of employment. A cost benefit analysis was carried out for this project which indicated a 7 to 1 return on the cost of a year of preschool (Brown 1985). At age 19, 18 per cent of the Perry program children compared with 32 per cent of controls were receiving welfare payments. At age 19, 50 per cent of subjects in the Perry program compared with 32 per cent of controls were working, and since leaving school, program teenagers had been out of work for a shorter time than controls (Schweinhart and

Weikart 1983; Haskins 1989). The cost benefits were found to be greater for the community and the taxpayer than for the participants in the actual program (Gramlich 1986; Barnett 1993).

Irving Lazar (1983), who headed the independent analysis group for the Consortium, stated that: 'Our analyses did not find that any of the background descriptors differentiated children in terms of the school outcomes. Children from both one- and two-parent families benefited: only children, oldest, middle and youngest children benefited; children whose mothers worked outside the home did as well as those whose mothers stayed home all day. Briefly, regardless of their backgrounds, low-income children enrolled in these programs more often met school expectations than did children who were not.' (p.462)

Thus the Consortium has provided compelling evidence that the provision of appropriate services in the preschool years can assist in alleviating some effects of poverty on the cognitive and social development of children. Although children in the programs did not reach the same levels of achievement as children from more affluent families, as originally hoped in the 1960s, their opportunities in school were greater as a result of intervention (Datta 1983).

Policy claims based on Consortium research have ranged from the moderate to the strong. The modest claim is for more research into the potential for specific programs, or conditional 'that chances of later success are raised by preschool but that how much, for whom, for how long, and on what measures is dependent, in ways yet to be specified, on the characteristics of the preschool program, the child's circumstances, community supports and opportunities, and later school experiences' (Datta 1983, p.474).

The strong policy position, taken in particular by Schweinhart and Weikart (1983; 1986), is that with quality preschool intervention programs there are clear long-term cost benefits to society. These claims are based largely on the higher rates of school completion which in turn affect the employment chances and possibility of independence of the children in the programs. Datta (1983), taking the strong policy position, enthusiastically declared: 'The Consortium analyses suggest, however, there is within our reach not necessarily the only way or even the best way of breaking the cycle of poverty, but a way, a way that works with returns most economists rarely dream of.' (p.478) However, Datta's comment must be understood in the broad context of childhood in the United States which was described earlier in this chapter.

Head Start Synthesis Project

Although the Consortium had found positive effects of early intervention programs there were continued claims that less ideal programs, such as those involved in Head Start, may not necessarily be so effective (Haskins 1989). Head Start programs were therefore re-evaluated in the Head Start Evaluation, Synthesis and Utilisation Project in the mid-1980s (McKey 1985 quoted in Haskins 1989).

This project was based on information from 210 Head Start studies and a meta-analysis of data from 76 of the studies; it examined the impact of Head Start on the cognitive and social–emotional development on children. The findings were similar to those from past evaluations, there were significant immediate cognitive gains, which were not sustained, but a sub-set of the studies showed that Head Start children were less likely to be in special education classes or retained in grade. Social–emotional and behavioural gains also declined in the early school years (McKey et al 1985 cited by Haskins 1989). On the other hand, Head Start had helped families by providing health, social and educational services and by linking them to other services in the community (Haskins 1989).

As in the past, the popular perception of these findings was that Head Start had failed because the cognitive gains were not sustained (Schweinhart and Weikart 1986). However, Haskins (1989) points out that this research probably underestimates the effects of Head Start because children in the programs are chosen from the most disadvantaged families and the controls were from slightly less disadvantaged families who for this reason were not selected in the programs – that is, the control group children were not entirely comparable with Head Start children as their situation was somewhat better.

Furthermore, some of the less canvassed but valuable achievements of Head Start are that it has largely been run by the poor and there are direct gains for those involved. Seventy per cent of the teaching staff are from low-income families; many unqualified people have received training through the program, thus gaining a qualification and earning capacity (Haskins 1989). More than one-third (36 per cent) of current Head Start staff are current or former program parents (Collins 1993).

Schweinhart and Weikart (1986) argue that Head Start programs do not need further long-term evaluations to prove their worth. They propose a three-stage model for intervention based on knowledge

gleaned from existing evaluations of the short, medium and long-term effects of preschool programs. According to Schweinhart and Weikart (1986) the logic of this model is that: '(i) children from low-income families who attend a good preschool child development program are better prepared for school, academically and socially; (ii) this better start in school helps children achieve greater school success as demonstrated by less need for special education classes and less chance of being retained in grade; (iii) their greater school success leads to greater life success in adolescence and adulthood, as demonstrated by lower delinquency, teenage pregnancy, and welfare usage rates and by higher rates of high school completion and employment.' (p.53)

Implications for Child Care

The evaluations of Head Start and the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies demonstrate what can be achieved through early intervention with children from low-income and minority families, although less than one in three eligible children in the United States has access to these programs (Gramlich 1986; Schorr 1989).

The long-term evaluation of the Perry Pre-school project, in particular, indicates that there are long-term cost benefits for society from such programs although there is a significant outlay in the beginning. Gramlich (1986) argues: 'They [the community] pay for the program, but then make it all back and more in the form of reduced special education expenses, reduced crime, reduced welfare payments and higher income tax payments. And the gains from reduced teenage pregnancies are not even being valued . . . I personally am quite happy with a human investment of this sort. Even though the payback period is long, the rewards are worth waiting for.' (p.22)

Notwithstanding, the social context for families has changed in many ways since the inception of Head Start and other early intervention programs. A major change has been the increase in the workforce participation of the mothers of preschoolers, the feminisation of poverty through the increase in the number of female-headed single-parent families, the rise in teenage parenting (in the United States), and the encouragement of low-income families to attain economic self-sufficiency (Washington and Oyemade 1985). It has been suggested that to be effective the Head Start program must adapt to accommodate these changes and must extend its hours and its services so that it can provide full-day care for infants, toddlers, and preschool children, and out-of-school-hours care for older children (Hymes

1985; Washington and Oyemade 1985; Horn 1990; Turner, Barbaro and Schlank 1990). Parent involvement may also need restructuring to accommodate working parents, particularly those working full-time.

There have been a number of projects which have successfully combined early intervention and child care. For example, the Abecaderian project, an experimental program which provided long day care five days a week for children from predominantly black high-risk families starting before the children were three months of age, indicated that intervention for children in low-income families is most effective when it occurs in the preschool years, and it is claimed the earlier the better, rather than after the child has started school (Ramey and Campbell 1987; 1991.) The curriculum for the treatment group was designed to enhance cognitive and linguistic development and to enable the children to experience mastery and success. It was found that preschool treatment positively affected the level of academic outcomes in relation to IQ scores, academic achievement and retention in grade, while school age treatment only did not, and the preschool treatment effects were maintained through the second year of school particularly for the group which continued to receive additional assistance.

Ramey and Campbell (1987) state that: 'It now appears that systematic early education can reduce the incidence of underachievement and delayed intellectual development – outcomes that are theoretically and educationally important. The intellectual and academic achievement results suggest to us that a preschool comprehensive program coupled with a school-aged follow-through program contains much promise.' (p.138) They also argue that both the public and professionals continue to unrealistically expect Head Start programs to produce permanent intellectual and scholastic improvement because they want a cheap solution to the problem of poverty and its effects on children (Ramey and Campbell 1987; 1991). Haskins (1989) argues that if the short-term benefits of preschool programs are to be sustained, an important direction for researchers should be the transition to primary schools and the fading of cognitive gains.

In a study of the intellectual development of 131 socio-economically disadvantaged children, Burchinal et al (1989) found that not only did an early intervention day care program improve the level and pattern of intellectual development of children, but that enrolment in quality community day care for a similar group of children also improved intellectual development and that these differences remained even after adjusting for the effects of maternal and home characteristics.

113

Thus it appears that quality day care, even without an intervention program, can improve the intellectual development of disadvantaged children although the intervention program was more effective. Ramey and Campbell (1991) state:

> The Abecaderian experiment and several other carefully designed interventions demonstrate that early educational intervention can significantly benefit children at high risk for academic failure. Early childhood education can enhance intellectual growth and improve later school performance. Taken together with results from similar experiments with disadvantaged children, our results suggest that educational intervention should begin early in the life span and continue at least into the primary grades. Children who appear to benefit most are those born to low-IQ, impoverished mothers. To put it another way, those children who need intervention the most appear to benefit the most. (p.218)

Phillips (1987) argues that reanalysis of data from the Bermuda study indicates that good quality child care can serve as an effective intervention for low-income children. Low-income children attending a high quality government-run child care centre had significantly better language skills, and were more considerate and sociable. In the early 1980s, Lazar (1983), when discussing the findings from the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, also pointed out the implications for child care for young children: 'These studies suggest that, at minimal additional cost, a systematic educational program could be introduced into both home-based and centre-based day care' (p.464).

The final report of the National Commission on Children (1991) set up in the United States to report on the state of the nation's children, argues that although Head Start programs are effective they cannot be expected to right all wrongs, particularly when most programs do not extend throughout the preschool years. The Commission therefore recommended 'improvements in the availability, affordability, and quality of child care services, as well as the development and expansion of family support programs to provide parents with the knowledge, skills, and support they need to enhance their children's development.'

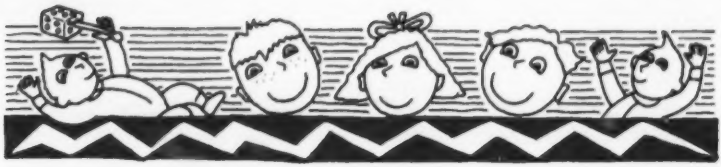
Conclusions

Head Start and early intervention programs have developed in relation to the context of early childhood and disadvantage in the United States; nevertheless, they also have implications for the provision of child care more generally.

First, preschool intervention programs can be protective for children from disadvantaged backgrounds in moderating the educational and social disadvantage that is frequently a correlate of poverty and minority group membership, although they are most effective when there is some follow through at school level (Ramey and Campbell 1991). Second, there has been no concern about the effects of separation from mother on children, probably because parent participation is part of the program, because the programs have mostly been aimed at children aged three or four, and partly because mother care in these disadvantaged families is not seen as optimal until mothers receive further education in parenting. The programs are thus seen as protective of children who would otherwise be seen as at risk. Thirdly, a number of early intervention and Head Start programs have provided child care; in the Abecaderian project this was to give the best possible chance for the intervention to work in the preschool treatment group. More recently, some Head Start programs have provided child care in order to cope with the increase in the number of employed mothers of preschoolers, and because of United States government emphasis on low-income families achieving economic self sufficiency (Turner et al 1990).

It is interesting to note that evaluations of most of these programs were not designed with possible harm or negative impacts on children in mind, as frequently is the case in research on the effects of child care. Rather they are designed to assess impacts on cognitive and social–emotional development, always with the hope that positive outcomes would be found. Although, as has been discussed, the evaluations overall indicate that children from disadvantaged families have been helped by these programs there is also the danger of stereotyping or setting them apart in a segregated system. Overall, Head Start and early intervention programs are seen as useful, protective, and positive; none have been evaluated as harmful, however they are limited to a small proportion of eligible children. Much of the knowledge gained from these programs over the years could usefully be incorporated into child care services.

Nevertheless, the difficulties involved in evaluating the outcomes of Head Start and problems in finding suitable outcome measures, particularly for social and emotional development, combined at times with popular misconceptions that programs had failed when cognitive gains appeared to fade over time, demonstrate that assessing children's development is a complex, and sometimes political, process.



6
DUAL SOCIALISATION

The notion that exclusive mother care is natural is not supported by history or by observations of the care of young children in cross-cultural studies. McGurk et al (1993) argue that: 'It would appear more appropriate to acknowledge that nature has ordained no single, optimal mode for providing for the physical, social and emotional needs of the developing child. Rather, a variety of modes of successful child rearing have emerged in different societies, each adapted to prevailing socio-economic, ecological circumstances. In each of these arrangements, the biological mother features significantly, but rarely exclusively' (p.6). Exclusive mother care is thus one of many child rearing patterns to be found.

There is the argument that for optimal development children need at least one person who is irrationally emotionally involved with them – that is, who loves them madly – and who is committed to their wellbeing and development for life (Bronfenbrenner 1991). Nevertheless, although committed, this person (or persons, usually a parent(s)) does not have to attend to all the needs of the child themselves, rather they ensure that the needs are met, often from a variety of sources. Thus in many societies, including Western society, the extended family or members of the community will assist mothers in the care of children; the well-off in Western society will often buy the assistance of a nanny, a babysitter or a housekeeper, and others will use either formal or informal child care. However, the committed person(s) with the loving relationship (usually the parents), continue to take the major responsibility for the overall care of the child.

These days many children in Western countries experience regular non-maternal care in the preschool years; in countries such as Sweden and Denmark, most children have this experience. From an early age the care of children is thus shared between the family and other caregivers and children experience dual socialisation into the ways of

their particular society and learn expected behaviour within two settings.

Nevertheless, much research on the effects of non-maternal child care until recently has been designed as if children's relationship with mother is the only essential relationship for young children. The ideology regarding the unique nature of motherhood continues to be strongly held by many despite research which indicates that by the end of the first twelve months multiple attachments are the norm (Schaffer and Emmerson 1964). Furthermore, in ethological–evolutionary terms, as discussed earlier, a network of stable and secure attachments provides optimal caregiving for children (van IJzendoorn and Tavecchio 1987). However, this is not to deny the important roles played by both mothers and fathers in the upbringing of their children and the biological importance of mothers in breastfeeding infants.

Changes in Child Rearing

Rodman (1992) claims that there are three stages in public acceptance of any change, such as non-maternal care of young children, where that change threatens traditional values. During the first stage of the change, when the number of mothers of preschoolers in the workforce began increasing and when traditional values about the importance of mothering were still paramount, child care was seen as potentially harmful to children and was viewed as a problem (see, for example, the quote from Doctor Spock in the early 1960s in Chapter One).

The second stage in the process of change reflects ambivalence; although the new practices challenge traditional values they gradually gain a degree of acceptance. At this stage child care is accepted as necessary, but mother care is still considered the best way of caring for young children. In the third stage there is greater acceptance of the change and more positive reactions to the situation. However, Cochran (1993) points out that even at the third stage, despite general acceptance, 'the issue is not fully resolved: conservative ideologues maintain their opposition and continue to criticise and deplore the changes'(p.90).

It is the Nordic countries – Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Finland – that have clearly reached the third stage of general acceptance of non-maternal care, and that are also the most advanced in making adequate provision for the care of the children in families where both parents work. Sommer (1992) points out features of the situation in these countries: 'What makes the Nordic case interesting is

117

the unique fact that society, in order to cope with changes during three decades on a large scale, has created a nation wide caring system of high quality for all children. A system that is in principle available for all, and not only for children with special needs, or parents who can afford it, indicates that caring is not a private responsibility for parents but one shared with society.' (p.18). In the United States, on the other hand, attitudes to non-maternal child care remain ambivalent but have gained a degree of acceptance; however, provision of child care services is far from adequate.

Sommer (1992) contends that acceptance of the change and provision of child care is not simply an economic decision but also involves ideological changes from a belief that mothers have total responsibility for rearing preschool children, to an acceptance of shared responsibility between the family and public agencies. This change in beliefs is more difficult for some countries than others. Both the United States and the United Kingdom have more traditional attitudes to maternal responsibility for children, less culturally homogeneous populations and less continuity of government, and have been more influenced by the ideas of John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth (discussed earlier). As a result they have retained a more conservative balance in regard to public–private responsibility for child care (Cochran 1993).

Nevertheless, with their increased participation in the workforce, new images of mothers have emerged Silverstein (1991) maintains:

> [In the United States] rather than responding to the mass entrance of women into the workforce with changes that would support the needs of families with two working parents, US society has responded instead with the cultural myth of the supermom. This mannequin mom is represented as being young, well dressed, smiling, with briefcase in one hand and baby in the other . . . [but there is] the reality obscured by this image: the stress of working two jobs, the wife's resentment toward her husband's absence, and the impossibility of achieving this superheroine goal. Implicit in the mythic quality of this image is its definition as one of personal competence, rather than as a role embedded within a network of social arrangements requiring public support. Defining the political as personal suggests that specific combination of personal characteristics allows some women to choose to fulfil the cultural prescription of having it all. In reality, however, the heroic working mother is a necessary accommodation to the

> lack of societal supports in both the public sphere of work and the private world of marriage. (p.1029)

The Research

Since concern about the effects of non-maternal care became an issue in the 1960s and 1970s, most research has been designed to search for negative effects on children. In keeping with attachment theory and the importance of mothers for the psychological development of children, the major concern has been with social–emotional rather than intellectual development. It is only in research addressing issues of quality and early intervention that separation from mother has not been an issue. Yet, as discussed in Chapter One, in historical terms it is only relatively recently that mothers have become responsible for the care and emotional wellbeing of children and that exclusive mother care of children has been looked on as 'natural'.

More recent research design has taken fathers into account to some extent, and sometimes there is reference to non-parental rather than non-maternal care, but most attention is focused on mothers. Overall, the research has been a quest for negative outcomes of non-maternal care, although few have been found and none consistently, and as discussed earlier, much of the research focusing on mother–infant attachment has been methodologically questionable. Lamb and Sternberg (1992) maintain:

> Indeed, despite decades of research on 'the effects of day care' it is increasingly apparent that day care per se is unlikely to exert a major influence on children's lives except as part of the web of influences and experiences that shape children's development. Because development is such a multifaceted and richly cadenced process, it is essential to understand the role played by each of those experiences in shaping the course of human development. (p.220)

In a review of the various waves of research into the effects of non-parental child care on the social–emotional development of children, Belsky (1990) argues that research into the effects of non-parental care should consider the home and the substitute care contexts as distinct ecologies in the development of children. He points out that: 'The possibility that factors and processes that shape development in the case of traditionally home-reared children may function differently – and perhaps not at all – in the case of children with extensive day care experience is suggested by several recent studies of infants.' (p.897)

1'3

In support of this statement Belsky (1990) cites studies where it is attachment to caregivers that predicts development (Howes et al 1989; Oppenheim et al 1988), or where day care rather than home factors predicted developmental outcomes of children who began extensive substitute care in infancy (Howes 1990). To Belsky, the challenge for research is finding which processes are important for child development within the family or within the child care context, and for which children.

Dual Socialisation

Sommer (1992), from Denmark, takes a different view from Belsky and states: 'The crucial interaction between the family and day care is grossly overlooked. What is needed instead is a broad holistic approach to the understanding of children growing up in family and day care. Taking such a perspective will inevitably affect thinking not only about day care policy, but also about day care itself. Instead of regarding day care as a substitute for home care, as held by traditional beliefs, with the mind set on whether this substitution in general harms children, day care can be seen as one of a number of possible care settings that contribute to children's total experience. Taking this approach, we can ask more subtle questions, focusing on how different care settings relate to each other, how day care fits into the child's wider experience, and the specific contribution of day care to that experience.' (p.322) Thus researchers from the Nordic countries (Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland) have designed the Nordic Research Project, 'Childhood, Society and Development', a qualitative experiential study which examines the relationship between the non-parental child care context and the family environment in a process of dual socialisation in each country (Sommer and Langsted 1991).

Researchers involved in this project have found that within the settings of home and child care there are different expectations of the child. The child care setting is more of a public domain and behaviour in that setting, while friendly, is more emotionally neutral and instrumental than in the home.

Sommer (1992) contends that the role of day care centres in Nordic countries could thus be seen as socialising children into acceptable group behaviour and that learning such behaviour while very young may be an advantage in social development. Relationships in the family, on the other hand, are primarily emotional and based on intimacy and individuality. In the home, children can express a range

120

of emotions towards parents ranging from love to frustration and anger; such emotions are expressed less openly within the child care setting. According to Sommer (1992): 'The specific function of the parents in the dual-socialisation situation, then, is to be sensitive and responsive to the child's emotional outbursts. This will help the child to both keep apart and integrate his or her two different worlds'(p.325). The family is thus a haven of intimacy for the child, and its function as provider of emotional support and personal continuity is strengthened.

Crucial in understanding the concept of dual socialisation is that the child actively contributes to the interaction between the two developmental environments in which s/he is involved (Sommer 1992). Adults – both parents and professional carers – have only partial knowledge of the child's parallel worlds. The challenge therefore, is to overcome this gap between the adults, to facilitate parent and caregiver cooperation, and to share information about the child.

Within the public arena of day care, children learn to control their impulses in a civilising process. They learn the rules of acceptable group behaviour. Day care attendance requires the child to both separate from and integrate with the family. Children separate into affectively neutral relationships at the centre, particularly the teacher–child relationship, and return to the strongly emotional atmosphere of the family (Lahikainen and Strandell 1991). There can be a compensatory counterbalancing of these two orientations for children. As Dencik (1989) maintains: 'The child transfers the experience gained in one environment to the other, and vice versa. What happens in one of the environments assumes meaning for the child in a way which is dependent on how this element of experience is integrated into the total configuration of experience in the dual-socialisation process. What is crucial is not what is experienced in the day-care centre itself, but how it fits into the whole life pattern of experience the child has. And the decisive factors here are the kind of work the parents have and the nature of the family structure.' (p.67).

Nevertheless, dual socialisation confronts the modern child with a number of developmental challenges. The two major challenges are the expansion of social spheres and the integration of different meaning systems. Children in non-parental care interact with many adults and must develop the skills to deal with the related social demands; they must integrate different meanings and behaviour of adults in the two settings. The Nordic Project has identified the

following social and cognitive competencies as necessary for the modern child: social flexibility, communication, the ability for self-reflection on the relationship between self and others, and the ability to integrate experience in the two worlds into a meaningful whole (Sommer 1992).

Children's Experience of Child Care

Andersson's (1989) research in Sweden has indicated that in the long term children can benefit from and are not harmed by the process of dual socialisation in good quality child care. However, one of the challenges is the way in which day care functions for children who already have difficulties within their family. Andenaes and Haavind (1991) in the Nordic countries, for instance, found that for some children there can be a compounding of a difficult home situation if the child faces further interpersonal difficulties within the day care setting, and this can happen even where the setting is high quality. In this context Sommer (1992) points out that 'two children, even living in the same area, together in day care with the same group of children and adults, might experience the "same" day care milieu as totally different, because of their family situation' (p.333).

In a comparison of the daily lives of American children attending a high quality child care centre with those attending a low quality centre, Beardsley (1990) points out that the effects of poor quality are immediate for the children involved. For children in poor quality care, 'and for their parents, who may perceive the effects of mediocre care without understanding their origins – the conflicts and trade-offs that compromise quality are irrelevant. What counts is that their experiences have been miserable, at the same time that their more fortunate peers in centres of good quality have had wonderful times – making new friends, coming to know and love other adults who are good to them, learning many different kinds of things each day, coming home radiant and eager to return the next day.' (p.xi)

Access to good quality child care is an important issue for all children, but particularly those from homes that are disadvantaged or troubled. Nevertheless, even within high quality centres in Nordic countries, children who are having a difficult time can have that difficulty compounded if carers are not sensitive to subtle difficulties such as lack of time and attention from a single parent after a separation, or too much intrusive demanding attention from an over-conscientious parent. Thus communication between the adults in the two socialisation settings and sensitivity on the part of caregivers is essential.

Dencik (1989) points out that these days parents, not just mothers, are anxious about bringing up their children: 'The rapid rate of change pervading modern society today makes it more difficult to know how to prepare a child adequately for its later life as an adult, in terms of both job qualifications and lifestyle. The knowledge and experience possessed by parents, if transferred to their children, will increasingly be felt to be irrelevant for their upbringing. Until now, traditional socialisation theory has assumed that a child is initiated into the world of the adult by means of positive expectations derived from the adult's social environment, and with the parents as models in particular. This model is no longer valid in modern Nordic societies.' (p.158)

Because of the complexity of society and the rate of change in technology and information, children can no longer follow the pattern of their parents to the same extent as in the past, as this is neither appropriate nor possible. Good quality non-parental child care therefore can assist in coping with modern society and support anxious parents in their role, as well as providing care while parents work.

New Directions for Research

There are those who urge that research focusing on the effects of child care should take a broader ecological approach, taking into account other factors in the environment. McGurk et al (1993) contend that even these views are restricted, arguing (like Oakely in 1981) that research is linked to the 'spirit of the times' and that research on the effects of child care has had restricted theoretical concepts linked with an earlier time period.

Research has been dominated by the small number of studies showing a small proportion of children classified as having insecure attachment to mother where there have been long hours of non-maternal care. The relationship between families, work and child care has changed and there is now greater acceptance in the community of the diversity of roles available to mothers, to the nurturing capacities of fathers, and to the benefits of good quality child care to children and families. The times have changed, and a narrow view of mother–child attachment is no longer sufficient.

There is considerable evidence that good quality day care does not harm children, even infants, and does not threaten their relationship with their parents. For children with a poor relationship with a parent or parents, child care provides an alternative model of adult relationships and support.

There is also evidence that good quality day care can improve aspects of cognitive development and enhances the development of children from disadvantaged families. Research has demonstrated that quality child care which acts as early intervention can be effective for these children from a very early age.

Silverstein (1991) argues that by designing and funding studies which continue to examine the effects of child care on children, attention is distracted from questions that really matter. Society has changed irrevocably and child care is now a necessity. Silverstein proposes instead a research agenda which would document the negative consequences of *not* providing high quality, affordable child care: 'This new agenda would also acknowledge that fathers and family processes are as central to developmental outcomes in children as are mothers. Adopting this kind of transformative research agenda would then transform the role of psychologists to one of advocating social change, rather than contributing to the maintenance of the status quo.' (p.1026)

McGurk et al (1993) support Silverstein's suggestion and also suggest research which examines how care environments can contribute to the development of happy, healthy infants and young children, and how care can be provided that helps parents to balance the demands of work and family life.

In the Australian context, there are several important questions for investigation in regard to child care in a multicultural society. What form of care do children from non-English-speaking backgrounds use most? How do children from non-English-speaking backgrounds cope with dual socialisation at home and in non-parental care if there are also substantial cultural differences? Do children do better in child care which is culturally similar to their family background? Does attendance at child care assist children from non-English-speaking backgrounds cope with adjustment to school?

Conclusions

Non-parental child care for preschool children is here to stay and is a form of care suited to the conditions in modern society. There are many varieties of care ranging from informal care by a relative or nanny in the child's home to formal care by a family day care provider or in centre-based care. Nevertheless, some children still remain in the traditional arrangement at home with their mother and these days sometimes with their father. All these arrangements can be good, bad

or mediocre, including care by mother, although in the context of early childhood care this is often overlooked. Furthermore, little attention has been paid to the changed role of fathers in dual-earner families and their direct and indirect effects on children (Bronfenbrenner 1991).

Policies affecting the workforce participation of parents also affect child care and development. Where parental leave or maternity leave is available, particularly where it is paid, the question of whether non-maternal or non-parental care harms infants does not arise to the same extent; nor is providing expensive places for infants and toddlers in child care such a problem. One parent should have the opportunity to stay at home with infants, not because non-maternal child care may be harmful to the child or attachment may be affected, but because it is easier to get to know the new family member, to breast feed – which is so good for the health of the child, and to develop a routine for infant and family before returning to the workforce.

Research findings from the United States have dominated, and although child care in that country is of generally low quality compared with Australia, much is made of any minimal negative findings, such as those of Belsky (Belsky and Rovine 1988), and little is made of positive findings. Despite endless research to find negative effects of non-parental care, no evidence has been found that good quality child care harms children, and the evidence from Head Start and some of the early intervention projects suggests that non-parental care can have cognitive and social–emotional advantages for children from disadvantaged families.

Children are entitled to child care which will not only enhance their future development but gives them a sense of wellbeing. Research needs to move from the seemingly endless quest for negative effects of non-maternal and/or non-parental care to questions that are more relevant to the current situation of families and young children.

125

List of References

Andenaes, A. and Haarind, H. (1991), 'The handling of social complexity among children with separate parents', paper presented at the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, Minneapolis, July.

ABS (1993), *Women in Australia*, Catalogue No. 4113.0, Canberra.

ABS (1990), *Child Care Arrangements Australia*, Catalogue No. 4402, Canberra.

ABS (1990a), ABS Child care survey, unpublished data supplied by Australian Institute of Health, Canberra.

Andersson, B.E. (1989), 'Effects of public day-care: a longitudinal study', *Child Development*, Vol.60, No.4, pp.857–866.

Andersson, B.E. (1990), 'Long-term effects of early day care experience'. Paper presented at the International Symposium on Child Care in the Early Years, Research and Future Perspectives, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Arnett, J. (1987), 'Caregivers in day care centers: Does training matter?'. Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Baltimore.

Balaguer, I., Mestres, J. and Penn, H. (1990), *Quality in services for young children: a discussion paper*, European Commission Childcare Network, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels.

Barglow, P., Vaughan, B.E. and Molitar, N. (1987), 'Effects of maternal absence due to employment on the quality of infant–mother attachment in a low-risk sample', *Child Development*, Vol.58, No.4, pp.945–954.

Barnett, S. (1993), 'Benefit-cost analysis of preschool education', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol.63, No.4, pp.500-508.

Barton, M. and Schwartz, J. (1981), 'Day care in the middle class: effects in elementary school'. Paper presented at the convention of the American Psychological Association, Los Angeles.

Baumrind, D. (1978), 'Parental disciplinary patterns and social competence in children', *Youth and Society*, Vol.9, No.3, pp.239–276.

Beardsley, L. (1990), *Good Day Bad Day: the Child's Experience of Child Care*, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.

Bell, R. (1979), 'Parent, child, and reciprocal influences', *American Psychologist*, Vol.34, pp.821–826.

Beller, E.K. (1983), 'The Philadelphia Study: the Impact of pre-school on Intellectual and Socioemotional Development', in *As the Twig is Bent: Lasting Effects of Preschool Programs*, The Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale, New Jersey.

Belsky, J. (1986), 'Infant day care: a cause for concern', *Zero to Three*, Bulletin of the National Center for Clinical Infant Programs, Vol.6, No.5, pp.1–7.

Belsky, J. (1987), 'Science, social policy and day care: a personal odyssey'. Paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development.

Belsky, J. (1988), 'The "effects" of infant day care reconsidered', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, No.3, pp.235–272.

Belsky, J. (1990), 'Parental and nonparental child care and children's socioemotional development: a decade in review', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol.52, No.4, pp.885–903.

Belsky, J. and Braungart, J.M. (1991), 'Are insecure-avoidant infants with extensive day-care experience less stressed by and more independent in the Strange Situation?', *Child Development*, Vol.62, No.3, pp.567–571.

Belsky, J. and Eggebeen, D. (1991), 'Early and extensive maternal employment and young children's socioemotional development: children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol.53, No.4, pp.1083–1097.

Belsky, J. and Rovine, M.J. (1988), 'Nonmaternal care in the first year of life and the security of infant–parent attachment', *Child Development*, No.59, pp.157–167.

Belsky, J. and Rovine, M. (1990), 'Q-Sort security and first-year nonmaternal care', in K. McCartney (ed.), *Childcare and Maternal Employment: a social ecology approach*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Belsky, J. and Steinberg, L. (1978), 'The effects of day care: a critical review', *Child Development*, Vol.49, No.4, pp.929–949.

Berk, L. (1971), 'Effects of variations in the nursery school setting on environmental constraints and children's modes of adaptation', *Child Development*, Vol.42, pp.834–869.

Berndt, T.J. (1992), *Child development*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Forth Worth.

Bittman, M. (1991), *Selected Findings From Juggling Work and Time: How Australian Families Use Time*, Office of the Status of Women, Canberra.

Bowlby, J. (1952), *Maternal Care and Mental Health*, World Health Organization, Geneva.

Bowlby, J. (1953, 1963 ed.), *Child Care and the Growth of Love*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Bowlby, J. (1969), *Attachment*, Attachment and loss Volume 1, Basic Books, New York.

Bowlby, J. (1973), *Separation: Anxiety and Anger*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Bradley, B. (1989), *Visions of Infancy*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Braithwaite, J. and Alexander, J. (1983), *Explorations in Early Childhood Education: the Mount Druitt Early Childhood Project*, Australian Council for Educational Research for the Bernard van Leer Foundation.

Brazelton, T.B. (1986), 'Issues for working parents', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol.56, No.1, pp.14–25.

Brennan, D. and O'Donnell, C. (1986), *Caring for Australia's Children: Political and Industrial Issues*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Bretherton, I. (1985), 'Attachment theory: retrospect and prospect', in *Growing Points of Attachment Theory and Research*, I. Bretherton and E. Waters (eds.), Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol.50, pp.3–38, Uni. of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Broberg, A. (1988), 'The Swedish child care system', *Goteborg Psychological Reports*, Vol.18, No.6, University of Goteborg, Sweden.

Broberg, A. and Hwang, P. (1991), 'The shaping of child-care policies', in M. Lamb and K. Sternberg (eds.), *Child Care in Context: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale N.J.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986), 'Ecology of family as a context for human development: research perspectives', *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.22, No.6, pp.723–742.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1991), 'What do families do?', *Family Affairs*, Institute for American Values, Vol.4, No.1-2, pp.1–5.

Brown, B. (1985), 'Head Start: how research changed public policy', *Young Children*, Vol.40, No.5, pp.9–13.

Bruner, J. (1980), *Under Five In Britain*, Grant McIntyre Ltd. for Oxford Preschool Project, London.

Burchinal, M., Lee, M. and Ramey, C. (1989), 'Type of day-care and preschool intellectual development in disadvantaged children', *Child Development*, Vol.60, No.1, pp.128–137.

Burdon, B. (1992), 'Fathers in families'. Paper presented at the 7th Human Development Conference, Brisbane.

Burns, A. and Homel, R. (1984), 'Neighbourhood quality and child adjustment', in Australian Family Research Conference, Proceedings Vol.VI Family Life, Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.

Camasso, M. and Roche, S. (1991), 'The willingness to change formalized child care arrangments: parental considerations of cost and quality', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol.53, pp.1071–1082.

Chafel, J. (1990), 'Children in poverty: policy perspectives on a "national crisis"', *Young Children*, Vol.45, No.5, National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Chase-Lansdale, P. L. and Owen, M.T. (1987), 'Maternal employment in a family context: effects on infant–mother and infant–father attachments' in K. McCartney (ed.), *Childcare and Maternal Employment: A Social Ecology Approach*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Chibucos, T.R. and Kail, P.R. (1981), 'Longitudinal examination of father–infant interaction and infant–father attachment', *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, Vol.27, No.2, pp.81–96.

Cicerelli, V.G. (1984), 'The misinterpretation of the Westinghouse Study: a reply to Zigler and Berman', *American Psychologist*, Vol.39, No.8, pp.915–916.

Clarke, A. and Clarke, A.D.B. (1976), *Early Experience: Myth and Evidence*, Open Books, Somerset.

Clarke, A.D.B. and Clarke, A.M. (1984), 'Constancy and change in the growth of human characteristics', *Journal of Child Psychiatry*, Vol.25, No.2, pp.191–210.

Clarke-Stewart, K.A. (1980), 'The father's contribution to children's cognitive and social development in early childhood', in Pederson, F.R. (ed.), *The Father–infant Relationship: Observational Studies in the Family Setting*, Praeger, New York.

Clarke-Stewart, K.A. (1987), 'In search of consistencies in child care research', in *Quality in Child Care: What Does Research Tell Us*, NAEYC, Washington.

Clarke-Stewart, K.A. (1988), 'The "effects" of infant day care reconsidered', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, No.3, pp.293–318.

Clarke-Stewart, K.A. (1989), 'Infant day care: maligned or malignant?', *American Psychologist*, Vol.44, No.2, pp.266–273.

Clarke-Stewart, K.A. (1991), 'A home is not a school: the effects of child care on children's development', *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol.47, No.2, pp.105–123.

Clarke-Stewart, A. and Apfel, N. (1979), 'Evaluating parental effects on child development', *Review of Research in Education*, Vol.6, Peacock, Itasca Il.

Clarke-Stewart, A. and Fein, G. (1984), 'Early childhood programs', in P. Mussen (ed.), *Handbook of Child Psychology*, Wiley, New York.

Clarke-Stewart, A. and Gruber, C. (1984), 'Daycare forms and features', in R.C. Ainslie (ed.), *Quality Variations in Daycare*, Praeger, New York.

Cochran, M. (1993), 'Public child care, culture, and society: crosscutting themes', in M. Cochran (ed.), *International Handbook of Child Care Policies and Programs*, Greenwood Press, Westport.

Cohen, B. (1988), *Caring for Children: Services and Policies for Child Care and Equal Opportunities in the United Kingdom*, Report for the European Commission's Childcare Network, Family Policy Studies Centre, London.

Collins, R. (1993), 'Head Start: steps toward a two-generation program strategy', *Young Children*, Vol.48, No.2, National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Condry, S. (1983), 'History and background of preschool intervention programs and the Consortium for Longitudinal Studies', in *As the Twig is Bent: Lasting Effects of Preschool Programs*, The Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale, New Jersey.

Cummings, E. (1980), 'Caregiver stability and day care', *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.16, pp31–37.

Cummings, M. and Beagles-Ross, J. (1983), 'Towards a model of infant daycare: Studies of factors influencing responding to separation in day care', in R.C. Ainslie (ed.), *Quality Variations in Daycare*, Praeger, New York.

Dally, A. (1982), *Inventing Motherhood: The Consequences of an Ideal*, Burnett Books, London.

Datta, L-E., (1983) 'Epilogue: we never promised you a rose garden, but one may have grown anyhow', in *As the Twig is Bent: Lasting Effects of Preschool Programs*, The Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale, New Jersey.

Dencik, L. (1989), 'Growing up in the post-modern age: on the child's situation in the modern family, and on the position of the family in the modern welfare state', *Acta Sociologica*, Vol.32, No.2, pp.155–180.

Desai, S., Chase-Lansdale, P.L. and Michael, R.T. (1988), 'Mother or market? Effects of maternal employment on cognitive development of four-year-old children'. Paper presented at the Population Association of America's Annual Meetings in New Orleans.

Doherty, G. (1991), *Quality Matters in Child Care*, Jesmond Pub., Huntsville, Ontario.

Donaldson, M. (1978), *Children's Minds*, Fontana, Glasgow.

Dunn, J. and Plomin, R. (1990), *Separate Lives: Why Siblings are So Different*, Basic Books, New York.

Earls, F. and Carlson, M. (1993), 'Toward sustainable development for American families', *Daedalus*, Vol.122, No.1, pp.92–121.

Edgar, D. (1991) 'Overview of ILO Convention 156, workers with family responsibilities', *Family Matters*, No.28, Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.

Edgar, D. (1992), 'Family impacts on the development of the child'. Paper presented at the Royal Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists, Faculty of Child Psychiatry, 5th Annual Meeting, Leura, NSW.

Elder, G.H. (1977), *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience*, University of Chicago Press.

Ellison, E.S. (1983), 'Issues concerning parental harmony and children's psychosocial adjustment', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol.53, No.1, pp.73–80.

Farquhar, S-E. (1990), 'Defining quality in the evaluation of early childhood programs', *Australian Journal of Early Childhood*, Vol.15, No.4, pp.16–23.

Fein, G.G. and Fox, N. (1988), 'Infant day care: a special issue', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, No.3, pp.227–234.

Field, T. (1980), 'Preschool play: Effects of teacher:child ratio and organization of classroom space', *Child Study Journal*, Vol.10, pp.191-205.

Field, T. (1991), 'Young children's adaptations to repeated separations from their mothers', *Child Development*, Vol.62, pp.539–547.

Field, T., Gewirtz, J., Cohen, D., Garcia, R. Greenberg, R. and Collins, K. (1984), 'Leave-takings and reunions of infants, toddlers, preschoolers and their parents', *Child Development*, Vol.55, pp.628–635.

Field, T., Masi, W., Goldstein, S., Perry, S. and Parl, S. (1988), 'Infant day care facilitates preschool social behavior', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, pp.341–359.

Galinsky, E. (1989), 'The implementation of flexible leave policies: observations from European employers'. Paper commissioned by the Panel on Employer Policies and Working Families, National Academy of Sciences.

Galluzzo, D., Matheson, C., Moore, J. and Howes, C. (1988), 'Social orientation to adults and peers in infant child care', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, pp.417–426.

Gamble, T. and Zigler, E. (1986), 'Effects of infant day care: another look at the evidence', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol.56, No.1, pp.26–42.

Garbarino, J. (1982), *Children and Families in the Social Environment*, Aldine, New York.

Gardner, H. (1983), *Frames of Mind*, Basic Books, New York.

Gifford, J. (1991), *Early Childhood in Australian Schools: Future Directions*, Australian Early Childhood Association, Canberra.

Ginsberg, H. and Opper, S. (1979), *Piaget's Theory of Intellectual Development*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs.

Glezer, H. (1988), *Maternity Leave in Australia*, Australian Institute of Family Studies Monograph No.7, Melbourne.

Goelman, H. (1992), 'Day care in Canada', in Lamb, ME., Sternberg, K.J., Hwang, C-P and Broberg, A.G. (eds), *Child Care In Context: Cross-cultural Perspectives*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale.

Goelman, H. and Pence, A. (1987a), 'Some aspects of the relationships between family structure and child language development in three types of day care', in D.L. Peters and S. Kontos (eds.), *Annual Advance in Applied Developmental Psychology, Volume II: Continuity and Discontinuity of Experience in Child Care*, Ablex, Norwood, NJ.

Goelman, H. and Pence, A. (1987b), 'Effects of child care, family and individual characteristics on children's language development: the Victoria day care research project', in Phillips, D.A. (ed.), *Quality in Day Care: What Does Research Tell Us*, NAEYC, Washington.

Gramlich, E. (1986), 'Evaluation of education projects: the case of the Perry Preschool Program', *Economics of Education Review*, Vol.5, No.1, pp.17–24.

Harper, J. and Richards, L. (1986 ed.), *Mothers and Working Mothers*, Penguin, Ringwood.

Hartup, W. (1978), 'Perspectives on child and family interaction: past, present, and future', in W. Hartup (ed.), *Child Influences on Marital and Family Interaction*, Academic Press, New York.

Haskins, R. (1985), 'Public school aggression among children with varying day care experience', *Child Development*, Vol.56, pp.689–703.

Haskins, R. (1989), 'Beyond metaphor: the efficacy of early childhood education', *American Psychologist*, Vol.44, No.2, pp.274–282.

Hayes, C.D., Palmer, J.L., Zaslow, M.J. (eds). (1990), *Who Cares for America's Children?: Child Care Policy for the 1990s*, National Academy Press.

Hennessy, E., Martin, S., Moss, P. and Melhuish, E. (1990), 'Social development at six years as a function of type and amount of early child care'. Paper presented at the International Symposium on Child Care in the Early Years, Research and Future Perspectives, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Hock, E., DeMeis, D. and McBride, S. (1988), 'Maternal anxiety: its role in the balance of employment and motherhood in mothers of infants', in A. E. Gottfried and A.W. Gottfried (eds.), *Maternal Employment and Children's Development: Longitudinal Research*, Plenum, New York.

Hofferth, S. and Wissoker, D. (1991), 'Price, quality, and income in child care choice', *The Journal of Human Resources*, Vol.27, No.1, pp.70–111.

Hoffman, L.W. (1983), 'Maternal employment and the young child' in Perlmutter, M. (ed.) *Minnesotta Symposium on Child Psychiatry*, pp.101–127.

Holloway, S. and Reichhart-Erickson, M. (1988), 'The relationship of day-care quality to children's free play behavior and social problem solving skills', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, pp.39–54.

Horn, W. (1990), 'Head Start: facing the new challenges', *Children Today*, Vol.19, No.3, pp.4–5.

Howes, C. (1983), 'Caregiver behavior in center and family day care', *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, Vol.4, pp.99–107.

Howes, C. (1986, 1988, 1990). *Keeping Current in Child Care Research: An Annotated Bibliography*. National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington.

Howes, C. (1988). 'Relations between early child care and schooling'. *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.24, pp.53–57.

Howes, C. (1990). 'Can age of entry into child care and the quality of child care predict adjustment at kindergarten?'. *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.26, No.2, pp.292–303.

Howes, C. and Hamilton, C. (1992). 'Children's relationships with child care teachers: stability and concordance with parental attachments'. *Child Development*, Vol.63, pp.867–878.

Howes, C. and Olenick, M. (1986). 'Family and child care influences on toddler's compliance'. *Child Development*, Vol.57, pp.202–216.

Howes, C. and Rubenstein, J. (1985). 'Determinants of toddlers behaviour in daycare: Age of entry and quality of setting'. *Child Care Quarterly*, Vol.14, pp.140–151.

Howes, C. and Stewart, P. (1987). 'Child's Play with adults, toys, and peers: an examination of family and child care influences'. *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.23, No.3, pp.423–430.

Howes, C., Phillips, D. and Whitebook, M. (1992). 'Thresholds of quality: implications for the social development of children in centebased child care'. *Child Development*, Vol.63, pp.449–460.

Howes, C., Galluzzo, D., Hamilton, C., Matheson, C. and Rodning, C. (1989). 'Social relationships with adults and peers within child care and families'. Paper presented as part of an invited symposium, Society for Research in Child Development, Kansas.

Howes, C., Rodning, C., Galluzzo, D.C. and Myers, L. (1988). 'Attachment and child care: relationships with mother and caregiver'. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, pp.403–416.

Hwang, C-P, Broberg, A. and Lamb, M. (1991). 'Swedish Childcare research', in E. Melhuish and P. Moss (eds.), *Day Care for Young Children*, Tavistock-Routledge, London.

Hymes, J. (1985), 'Head Start – hopes and disappointments', *Young Children*, Vol.40, No.6, September, pp.16–19.

Jacobson, J.L. and Wille, D.E. (1984), 'Influence of attachment and separation experience on separation distress at 18 months', *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.20, No.3, pp. 477–484.

Jaeger, E. and Weinraub, M. (1990), 'Early nonmaternal care and infant attachment: in search of process' in K. McCartney (ed.), *Childcare and Maternal Employment: A Social Ecology Approach*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Kagan, J. (1984), 'Continuity and change in the opening years of life', in Emde, R.N. and Harmon, R.J. (eds.), *Continuities and Discontinuities in Development*, Plenum, New York.

Kalinowski, A. and Sloane, K. (1981), 'The home environment and school achievement', in *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, Vol.7, Pergamon Press, Gt. Britain.

Karen, R. (1990), 'Becoming attached', *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, pp.35–70.

Keniston, K. (1977), *The American Family Under Pressure*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York.

King, D. and MacKinnon, C. E. (1988), 'Making difficult choices easier: a review of research on day care and children's development', *Family Relations*, Vol.137, pp.392–398.

Kontos, S. and Fiene, R. (1987), 'Child care quality, compliance with regulations, and children's development: the Pennsylvania study', in D. Phillips (ed.), *Quality in Child Care: What Does Research Tell Us?* National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington D.C.

Lahikainen, A. and Strandell, H. (1991), 'To separate and integrate: the challenges of socialization in modern society'. Paper presented at the symposium 'Modern childhood: on everyday life and socialization of young children in modern welfare states', Eleventh Biennial Meetings of the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Lamb, M. (1976), *The Role of the Father in Child Development*, Wiley, London.

Lamb, M. (1977), 'Father–infant and mother–infant interaction in the first year of life', *Child Development*, Vol.48, pp.167–181.

Lamb, M. and Sternberg, K. (1992), 'Sociocultural perspectives on nonparental child care', in Lamb, M., Sternberg, K., Hwang, C-P. and Broberg, A. (eds.), *Child Care in Context*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale N.J.

Lamb, M., Sternberg, K. and Ketterlinus, R. (1992), 'Child care in the United States: the modern era', in Lamb, M., Sternberg, K., Hwang, C-P. and Broberg, A. (eds.), *Child Care in Context*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale N.J.

Lamb, M. and Oppenheim, D. (1989), 'Fatherhood and father–child relationships: five years of research', in Cath, S., Gurwitt, A. and Gunsberg, L. (eds.), *Fathers and Their Families*, Analytic Press, Hillsdale.

Lamb, M. and Sternberg, K. (1991), 'Sociocultural perspectives on nonparental child care', in Lamb, M., Sternberg, K., Hwang, C-P. and Broberg, A. (eds.), *Child Care in Context*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale.

Lamb, M.E., Hwang, C-P, Broberg, A. and Bookstein, F.L. (1988), 'The effects of out-of-home care on the development of social competence in Sweden: a longitudinal study', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, pp.379–402.

Lamb, M., Sternberg, K., Hwang, C-P. and Broberg, A. (eds.), (1991), *Child Care in Context*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale.

Lamb, M.E., Thompson, R.A., Gardner, W. and Charnov, E.L. (1985), *Infant–Mother Attachment: The Origins and Developmental Significance of Individual Differences in Strange Situation Behavior*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale.

Lancaster, S., Prior, M. and Adler, R. (1986), 'Child behavior ratings: the influence of maternal characteristics', Psychology Department, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Lazar, I. (1983), 'Discussion and implications of findings', in *As the Twig is Bent: Lasting Effects of Preschool Programs*, The Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale, New Jersey.

Luthar, S.S. and Zigler, E. (1991), 'Vulnerability and competence: a review of research on resilience in childhood', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol.6, No.1, pp.6–22.

Maas, F. (1989), 'Demographic trends affecting the workforce'. Paper presented at Corporate Childcare: the Bottom Line, a conference organised by Childcare at Work Ltd., Sydney.

Maccoby, E. and Martin, J. (1983), 'Socialization in the context of the family: parent-child interaction', in *Handbook of Child Psychology*, Mussen, P. (ed.) Volume IV, Socialization, personality and social development, John Wiley, New York.

McCartney, K. (1984), 'Effect of quality of day-care environment on children's language development', *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.20, pp.244–260.

McCartney, K. (1990), 'Editor's notes', in K. McCartney (ed.), *Childcare and Maternal Employment: A Social Ecology Approach*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

McCartney, K. (1991), 'Maternal employment should be studied within social ecologies', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol.53, No.4, pp.1103–1107.

McCartney, K. and Galanopoulos, A. (1988), 'Childcare and attachment: a new frontier the second time around', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol.58, No. 1, pp.16–24.

McCartney, K. and Rosenthal, S. (1991), 'Maternal employment should be studied within social ecologies', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol.53, No.4, pp.1103–1107.

McDonald, P. (1991), 'Australian families as consumers and employees'. Paper presented at New Families, New Workers, New Workplace Practices Conference, Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.

McDonald, P. (1990), 'The 1990s: Social and economic change affecting families', *Family Matters*, No. 26, April, Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.

McGurk, H., Caplan, M., Hennessy, E. and Moss, P. (1993), 'Controversy, theory and social context in contemporary day care research', *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, Vol.34, No.1, pp.3–23.

Meade, A. (Convenor) (1988), *Education To Be More: Report of the Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group*, Wellington.

Melhuish, E. (1991), 'Research on day care in Britain' in P. Moss and E. Melhuish (eds.), *Current Issues in Day Care for Young Children*, Department of Health and Thomas Coram Research Institute, London.

Menaghan, E.G. and Parcel, T. (1990), 'Parental employment and family life: research in the 1980s', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol.52, No.4, pp.1079–1098.

Moss, P. (1991), 'Policy issues in day care', in P. Moss and E. Melhuish (eds.), *Current Issues in Day Care for Children*, Dept. of Health and Thomas Coram Research Unit, London.

Moss, P. (1993), Personal correspondence about the subjective approach to quality, Coordinator European Commission Childcare Network.

Moss, P. and Melhuish, E. (1991), 'Future directions for day care policy and research', in P. Moss and E. Melhuish (eds.), *Current Issues in Day Care for Young Children*, Dept. of Health and Thomas Coram Research unit, London.

Mott, F.L. (1991), 'Developmental effects of infant care: the mediating role of gender and health', *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol.47, No.2, pp.139-158.

Mussen, P., Conger, J., Kagan, J. and Huston, A. (1990), *Child Development and Personality*, Seventh Edition, Harper and Rowe, New York.

Nasmen, E. and Falkenberg, E. (1989), *Parental Rights in the Work Family Interface*, The Swedish Centre for Working Life, Stockholm.

National Commission on Children, (1991), *Beyond Rhetoric: a New American Agenda for Children and Families*, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington.

Nye, F.I. (1957), 'Child adjustment in broken and unhappy unbroken homes', *Marriage and Family Living*, Vol.19, pp.356–361

Oakley, A. (1981), *Subject Women*, Martin Robertson, Oxford.

Ochiltree, G. (1991), 'Managing motherhood and workforce participation'. Paper presented at the Fifth Early childhood Convention, Dunedin, N.Z.

Ochiltree, G. (1991), 'Child Care: a contrast in policies', *Family Matters*, No.30, Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne, pp.38–42.

Ochiltree, G. and Edgar, D. (1981), *The Changing Face of Childhood*, Discussion Paper Number 4, Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.

Ochiltree, G. and Amato, P. (1984), 'Family conflict and child competence', Australian family research conference Nov. 1983, Proceedings Vol.V1, AIFS, Melbourne.

Olsen, G. and Link, M. (1992), 'Child care quality and affordability: are they compatible?', *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, Vol.13, No.4, pp.457–466.

Oppenheim, D., Sagi, A. and Lamb, M. (1988), 'Infant–adult attachments on the kibbutz and their relation to socioemotional development 4 years later', *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.24, pp.427–433.

Owen, M.T. and Cox, M.J. (1988), 'Maternal employment and the transition to parenthood', in A.E. Gottfried and A.W. Gottfried (eds.), *Maternal Employment and Children's Development: Longitudinal Research*, Plenum Press, New York.

Parke, R. D. (1981), *Fathering*, Fontana, Glasgow.

Pederson, F. A. (1980), *The Father–infant Relationship: Observational Studies in the Family Setting*, Praeger, New York.

Penn, H. (1991) cited in G. Ochiltree, 'Recent changes in child care in the United Kingdom', *Family Matters*, No.30, p.43.

Petrie, A. (1990), *Child Care in the '90s: Responding to Community Needs in Australia, National Utilisation Trends in Family Day Care*, Griffith University, Brisbane.

141

Phillips, D. (ed.) (1987a), *Quality in Child Care: What Does the Research Tell Us?*, National Association for the Study of Young Children, Washington.

Phillips, D.A. (1987b), 'Infants and child care: the new controversy', *Exchange*, November, pp.19–22.

Phillips, D. (1991), 'Children of the future: caring now for tomorrow', keynote address at the national conference: Ensuring the Future: the Fabric of Childhood in Australian Society, Adelaide.

Phillips, D. and Howes, C. (1987), 'Indicators of quality in child care: review of research', in D. Phillips (ed.), *Quality in Child Care: What Does Research Tell Us?*, National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington D.C.

Phillips, D., McCartney, K. and Scarr, S. (1987), 'Child care quality and children's social development', *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.23, pp.537–543.

Phillips, I. (1990), 'Forword', to *Psychosocial Issues in Day Care*, S. Chehrazi (ed.), American Psychiatric Press, Washington.

Phoenix, A. and Woollett, A. (1991) 'Motherhood: social construction, politics and psychology', in A. Phoenix, A. Woollett and E. Lloyd (eds.), *Motherhood: Meanings, Practices and Ideologies*, Sage, London.

Plomin, R. and Loehlin, J.C. (1985), 'Genetic and environmental components of "environmental" influences', *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.21, No.3, pp.391–402.

Porter, B. and O'Leary, K.D. (1980), 'Marital discord and childhood behavior problems' *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, Vol.8, No.3, pp.287–295.

Poteat, G. M., Snow, C., Ironsmith, M. and Bjorkman, S. (1992), 'Influence of day care experiences and demographic variables on social behavior in kindergarten', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol.62, No.1, pp.137–141.

Prescott, E. (1981), 'Relations Between Physical Setting and Adult Child Behavior in Day Care', in S. Kilmer (ed.) *Advances in Early Education and Day Care*, Vol.2, JAI Press, Greenwich CT.

Ramey, C. and Campbell, F. (1987), 'The Carolina Abecedarian Project: and educational experiment concerning human malleability', in Gallagher, J. and Ramey, C. (eds.), *The Malleability of Children*, P.H. Brookes, Baltimore.

Ramey, C. and Campbell, F. (1991), 'Poverty, early childhood education, and academic competence: the Abecaderian experiment', in A. Huston (ed.), *Children in Poverty: Child Development and Public Policy*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Raschke, H.J. and Raschke, V.J. (1979), 'Family conflict and children's self concepts: a comparison of intact and single-parent families', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol.4, No.2, pp.367–374.

Raver, C.C. and Zigler, E. (1991), 'Three steps forward, two steps back: Head Start and the measurement of social competence', *Young Children*, May, pp.3–8.

Reuters, J. and Yunik, G. (1973), 'Social interaction in nursery schools', *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.9, pp.319–325.

Rheingold, H. (1971), 'The social and socializing infant' in D.A. Goslin (ed.), *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*, Rand McNally, Chicago.

Richters, J.E. and Zahn-Waxler, C. (1988), 'The infant day care controversy: current status and future directions', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, No.3, pp.319–336.

Riley, D. (1983), *The War In the Nursery: Theories of the Child and Mother*, Virago, London.

Rodman, H. (1992), 'A three stage process of reactions to change: maternal employment and day care', *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, Vol.13, No.4, pp.485–494.

Rogers, S.J., Parcel, T.L. and Menaghan E.G. (1991), 'The effects of maternal working conditions and mastery on child behavior problems: studying the intergenerational transmission of social control', *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol.32, pp.145–164.

Royce, M.J., Darlington, R.B. and Murray, H.M. (1983), 'Pooled analyses: findings across studies', in *As the Twig is Bent: Lasting Effects of Preschool Programs*, The Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale, New Jersey.

Rubenstein, J. and Howes, C. (1983), 'Social-emotional development of toddlers in day care: the role of peers and of individual differences', in S. Kilmer (ed.) *Early Education and Day Care*, Vol.3, JAI Press, Greenwich CT.

Ruopp, R. and Travers, J. (1982), 'Janus faces child care: perspectives on quality and cost', in E.F. Zigler and E.W. Gordon (eds.), *Day Care: Scientific and Social Policy Issues*, Auburn House, Boston, Ma.

Ruopp, R., Travers, J., Glantz, F. and Coelen, C. (1979), *Children at the Center: Final Report of the National Day Care Study*, Abt Associates, Cambridge, Ma.

Russell, G. (1982), 'Shared caregiving families: an Australian study', in M.E. Lamb (ed.) *Non-traditional Families: Parenting and Child Development*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale N.J.

Rutter, M. (1976), 'Parent–child separation: psychological effects on the children', in Clarke A. M. and Clarke, A.D.B. (eds), *Early Experience: Myth and Evidence*, Open Books, Somerset.

Rutter, M. (1979), 'Maternal deprivation, 1972–1978: new findings, new concepts, new approaches', *Child Development*, Vol.50, No.2, pp.283–305.

Rutter, M. (1981a), 'The city and the child', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol.5, No.4, pp.610-625.

Rutter, M. (1981b), *Maternal Deprivation Reassessed*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Rutter, M. (1981c), 'Postscript: new developments in "Maternal deprivation" 1972–80', in *Maternal Deprivation Reassessed*, Second Edition, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Rutter, M. (1984), 'Continuities and discontinuities in socioemotional development: empirical and conceptual perspectives', in Emde, R.N. and Harmon, R.J. (eds.), *Continuities and Discontinuities in Development*, Plenum, New York.

Rutter, M. (1989), 'Pathways from childhood to adult life', *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, Vol.30, No.1, pp.23–51.

Sagi, A. and Lewkowicz, K.S. (1987), 'A cross-cultural evaluation of attachment research', in Tavecchio, L.W.C. and van IJzendoorn, M.H. (eds.), *Attachment in Social networks: Contributions to the Bowlby-Ainsworth Attachment Theory*, North Holland, Amsterdam.

Sargent, M. (1994 third edit.), *The New Sociology for Australians*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne.

Scarr, S. (1991), 'On comparing apples and oranges and making inferences about bananas', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol.53, No.4, pp.1099–1100.

Scarr, S. and Dunn, J. (1987), *Mother Care/Other Care*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Schachere, K. (1990), 'Attachment between working mothers and their infants: the influence of family processes', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol.60, No.1, pp.19–33.

Schaffer, H. and Crook, C. (1978), 'The role of the mother in early social development', in H. McGurk (ed.), *Issues in Childhood Social Development*, Methuen, London.

Schaffer, H. and Emerson, P. (1964), 'The development of social attachments in infancy', *Monograph Society for Research on Child Development*, Vol.29, No.94.

Schlieker, E., White, D. and Jacobs, E. (1989), 'Predicting preschool language comprehension from SES, family structure, and day care quality'. Paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Kansas City, MO.

Schorr, L. (1989), 'Early interventions to reduce intergenerational disadvantage: the new policy context', *Teachers College Record*, Vol.90, No.3, pp.36–374.

Schwartz, J. (1983), 'Infant day care: effects at 2, 4, and 8 years'. Paper presented at the biennial meetings of the Society for research in Child Development, Detroit.

145

Schwartz, J., Strickland, R. and Krolick, G. (1974), 'Infant day care:behavioural effects at preschool age', *Developmental Psychology*, Vol.10, pp.502–506.

Schweinhart, L. and Weikart, D. (1983), 'The effects of the Perry Preschool Program on youths through age 15 – a summary', in *As the Twig is Bent: Lasting Effects of Preschool Programs*, The Consortium for Longitudinal Studies, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale, New Jersey.

Schweinhart, L. and Weikart, D. (1986), 'What do we know so far? A review of the Headstart Synthesis Project', *Young Children*, Vol.41, No.2, January, pp.49–55.

Silverstein, L. (1991), 'Transforming the debate about child care and maternal employment', *American Psychologist*, Vol.46, No.10, pp.1025–1032.

Skolnick, A. (1981), 'The family and its discontents', *Society*, Jan.-Feb., pp.42–47.

Slaughter, D.T. (1982), 'What is the future of Head Start?', *Young Children*, Vol.37, No.3, pp.3–9.

Smith, A.B. (1992), 'Quality and its measurement: socio-political issues'. Paper presented at Workshop on Defining and Assessing Quality, Seville Spain.

Smith, A., Inder, P. and Ratcliff, B. (1991), 'Relations between early childhood centre experience and social behaviour at school: a New Zealand study'. Paper presented at the Society for Research in Child Development Conference, Seattle.

Smith, P. and Connolly, K. (1981), *The Behavioural Ecology of Preschool*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge U.K.

Snider, M. and Fu, V. (1990), 'The effects of specialized education and job experience on early childhood teachers' knowledge of developmentally appropriate practice', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, No.5, pp.69–78.

Sommer, D. (1992), 'A child's place in society: new challenges for family and day care', *Children and Society*, Vol.6, No.4, pp.317–335.

Sommer, D. and Langsted, O. (1991), 'Social interaction of Nordic children in day care'. Paper presented at the symposium Modern Childhood: on everyday life and socialization of young children in Nordic welfare states, International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development Biennial Meetings, Minneapolis.

Spock, B. (1945, 1961 ed.), *Baby and Child Care*, Pocket Books, New York.

Sroufe, L. Alan (1988), 'A developmental perspective on day care', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, pp.283–291.

Sternberg, K., Lamb, M. Hwang, C-P and Broberg, A. (1990), 'Long-term effects of contrasting early childcare arrangements: the Goteborg Childcare Project'. Paper presented at the International Symposium, Child Care in the Early Years: research and future prospects, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Stallings, J. and Porter, A. (1980), *National Daycare Home Study*, SRI International, Palo Alto Ca.

Stone, L. (1979), *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800*, Penguin (abridge edit.), Harmondsworth.

Thompson, R.A. (1988), 'The effects of day care through the prism of attachment theory', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.3, pp.273–282.

Thorman, G. (1989), *Day Care: and Emerging Crisis*, Charles Thomas, Springfield Il.

Tizard, B. (1986), *The Care of Young Children: Implications of Recent Research*, Thomas Coram Institute, Working and occasional papers 1, London.

Turner, J., Barbaro, G. and Schlank, M. (1990), 'Head Start and JOBS: collaborative efforts help families become self-sufficient', *Children Today*, Vol.19, No.3, pp.12–13.

van IJzendoorn, M.H. and Tavecchio, L.W.C. (1987), 'The development of attachment theory as a Lakatosian research program: philosophical and methodological aspects'', in Tavecchio, L.W.C. and van IJzendoorn, M.H. (eds.), *Attachment in Social Networks: Contributions to the Bowlby–Ainsworth Attachment Theory*, North Holland, Amsterdam.

147

van IJzendoorn, M.H. and Kroonenberg, P.M. (1988), 'Cross-cultural patterns of attachment: a meta-analysis of the Strange Situation', *Child Development*, Vol.59, pp.147–156.

Vandell, D.L. (1991), 'Belsky and Eggebeen's analysis of the NLSY: meaningful results or statistical illusions', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol.53, No.4, pp.1100–1103.

Vandell, D.L. and Powers, C. (1983), 'Daycare quality and children's free play activities', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol.53, pp.293–300.

Vandell, D.L. and Corasaniti, M.A. (1989), 'Variations in early childcare: do they predict subsequent social, emotional, and cognitive differences?', *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, Vol.5, pp.555–572.

Vandell, D.L. and Corasaniti, M.A. (1990), 'Child care and family: complex contributors to child development', *New Directions for Child Development*, No.49, Fall, pp.23–37.

Vandell, D.L. and Ramana, J. (1992), 'The effects of early and recent maternal employment on children from low-income families', *Child Development*, Vol.63, pp.938–949.

Vandell, D., Henderson, V. and Wilson, K. (1988), 'A longitudinal study of children with day care experiences of varying quality', *Child Development*, Vol.59, N0.5, pp.1286–1292.

Vaughan, B., Gove, F. and Egeland, B. (1980), 'The relationship between out-of-home care and the quality of infant–mother-attachment in an economically disadvantaged population', *Child Development*, Vol.51, pp.1203–1214.

Vinovskis, M. (1993), 'Early childhood education: then and now', *Daedalus*, Vol.122, No.1, pp.151–176.

Washington, V. and Oyemade, U. (1985), 'Changing family trends: Head Start must respond', *Young Children*, Vol.40, No.6, pp.12–19.

Weikart, D. (1989), 'Hard choices in early childhood care and education: a view to the future', *Young Children*, Vol.44, No.3, pp.25–30.

Whelan, A. (1990), *Paying the Price?: An Analysis of Staff Turnover in Long Day Care and Preschool Services in NSW – 1990*, Community Child Care Co-op, Newtown.

White, R. (1959), 'Motivation reconsidered: the concept of competence', *Psychological Review*, Vol.66, pp.297–333.

Whitebook, M. and Granger, R.C. (1989), '"Mommy, who's going to be my teacher today?" Assessing teacher turnover', *Young Children: Journal of the National Association for Young Children*, May, pp.11–14.

Whitebook, M., Howes, C. and Phillips, D. (1989), *Who Cares? Child Care Teachers and the Quality of Care in America. Executive Summary National Child Care Staffing Study* , Child Care Employee Project, Oakland.

Wine, J. (1981), 'From defect to competence', in J. Wine (ed.), *Social Competence*, Guilford Press, New York.

Zaslow, M. (1991), 'Variation in child care quality and its implications for children', *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol.47, No.2, pp.125–138.

Zelizer, V. (1985), *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*, Basic Books, New York.

Zigler, E. (1991), 'Using research to inform policy: the case of early intervention' in *The Care and Education of America's Young children: obstacles and opportunities*, Ninetieth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Sharon Lynn Kagan (ed.), Chicago.

Zigler, E. and Trickett, P.K. (1978), 'IQ, social competence, and evaluation of early childhood intervention programs', *American Psychologist*, September, pp.789–798.

Australian Institute of Family Studies Early Childhood Study

The AIFS Early Childhood Study focuses on issues concerning pre-school children. It was carried out by the Institute in conjunction with and funding support from the Children's Services Office of South Australia and the Office of the Family in Western Australia. A grant from the Commonwealth Department of Community Services and Health enabled us to extend the number of second stage interviews.

Early childhood is an important stage of development, with the greatest physical, intellectual, social and emotional progress occurring in the first five years of life. The care of children during this time is therefore critical to their future growth as well-adjusted, healthy people.

Until the 1980s, most Australian children under five years old were cared for at home by their mothers. These days, due to social and economic changes in society, the mothers of preschool children are increasingly entering the paid workforce and leaving their children in the care of others.

Many of these children are cared for in child care centres or family day care schemes; others are cared for informally by relatives, neighbours or friends. Others still are in the care of privately employed baby-sitters, housekeepers, or nannies.

But whether children are cared for at home or away from home, it is important that they receive care that not only keeps them physically safe and emotionally healthy, but also enables them to participate in a modern society that requires stable, independent, literate and educated citizens.

The aims of the Early Childhood Study are to:

- provide a comprehensive picture of Australian mothers' experiences of raising children in a variety of circumstances (in metropolitan areas), from birth until the first year at school, whether the mother had a job for some of the time or whether she remained at home with the child;

- examine the relationship between different types of child care and the development of child competence (cognitively, socially and emotionally) by their first year at school.

The study was designed, first, to describe and to examine the relationship between a broad range of family factors, child characteristics, and different patterns of caring for children, and second, to examine the competence of the children in the study by their first year at school.

The study has two complementary stages. Stage One consists of a mailed-out questionnaire to mothers of children in the first year of school. Data collected includes general information on child care used in the preschool years, the mother's current work status and her average hours of paid work for each year since her child's birth, the average hours that the child was in the care of others for each year from birth, the mother's use of and satisfaction with child health services, an assessment of the child's competence, and basic social and economic information about the family. A total of 8456 mothers took part in this stage of the study (5619 in Melbourne, 1386 in Adelaide and 1451 in Perth).

Information collected in Stage One enabled the smaller Stage Two sample of 728 mothers to be selected on the basis of the forms of care they had used for their preschool children. The selected mothers were interviewed about the particular child who was the focus of the study, their family, their reasons for working or not working and, if they worked, how they managed home and work responsibilities. Mothers' reasons for choosing different forms of child care, and information on the health and wellbeing of mother and child were also obtained.

Papers from the study comprise most of the publications in this series, but commissioned papers on related issues are also included.

Study Design: Gay Ochiltree and Don Edgar
Study Co-ordinator: Gay Ochiltree
Study Team: Evelyn Greenblat, Gillian Hamerston, Violet Kolar and Peter Schmidt

Titles in the AIFS Early Childhood Study Series

Paper 1, *An Ear to Listen and a Shoulder to Cry On: The Use of Child Health Services in Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth*, by Gay Ochiltree.

Paper 2, *Sick Children: How Working Mothers Cope*, by Gay Ochiltree and Evelyn Greenblat.

Paper 3, *Taking the Children to Work: Work-related Child Care in South-eastern Melbourne*, by John T. Jackson.

Paper 4, *Use and Choice of Child Care*, by Evelyn Greenblat and Gay Ochiltree.

Paper 5, *Effects of Child Care on Young Children: Forty Years of Research*, by Gay Ochiltree.

An absorbing and thorough review of worldwide research, *The Effects of Child Care on Young Children* is a major contribution to the ongoing debate about the pros and cons of having young children cared for by people other than their parents, and their mothers in particular.

Gay Ochiltree clearly summarises and explains forty years of research and theory — from the 1950s with its emphasis on the deprivation effects of non-maternal care, to more recent thinking and research on issues like the quality of child care, how quality is measured, socialisation and children's experiences of child care, and early intervention programs designed to give children a headstart in life.

The book draws together major international perspectives and summarises the Australian situation. With almost half of all mothers of children under five in the workforce, people working in or concerned with child care should not miss this book.

An Australian Institute of Family Studies Research Project

Australian Institute of Family Studies
300 Queen Street
Melbourne 3000 Victoria
Australia

153